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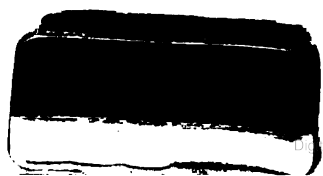
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS  
OF  
ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM,  
STYLED AFTERWARDS  
THE KNIGHTS OF RHODES,  
AND AT PRESENT  
**The Knights of Malta.**

BY MONS. L'ABBE DE VERTOT,  
*Author of the History of the Origin of the Grandeur of the Court of Rome,  
the History of the Revolutions of Rome, of the Revolutions of  
Sweden, of the Revolutions of Portugal, &c.*

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1818.





**THE**  
**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.**

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**BOOK VI.**

**WHEN** the news of the death of the grand master arrived at Rhodes, the knights assembled to provide a successor, A. D. 1397. Their choice fell upon brother Philebert de Naillac, grand prior of Aquitaine, a gentleman esteemed equally for his wisdom and valour. The order indeed, during the schism, which divided it as well as the whole Christian church, required a chief of his consummate prudence; nor was he less serviceable to it in the wars it was afterwards obliged to maintain against most of the Eastern princes.

Scarcely had the new prince of Rhodes taken possession of his dignity, when he was solicited to enter into a league against Bajazet I. the fifth sultan of the race of the Ottoman Turks, who threatened Hungary with invasion. Sigismond, of the house of Luxemburg, and son to the emperor Charles IV., was then upon the throne of that kingdom, in right of queen Mary, his wife; a prince, whom adversity and the various disgraces he had passed through in his youth, had rendered very skilful in the arts of government; but he was a much better politician than a general. The ravages

which the Turks made almost every year on the frontiers of his territories, obliged him to make application to the pope for succours. The pontiff, for that purpose, formed a powerful league against the infidels, in which he engaged Charles VI. king of France, Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy, the republic of Venice, and the knights of Rhodes. Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, desired to be comprehended in it; and several petty Christian princes, both Latins and Greeks, sued for the same favour; but very little succour came from them, and their names served only to increase the number of signatures that were put at the bottom of this famous treaty. Charles VI. alone furnished more troops than all the other allies. They pretend that there went from France, upon this expedition, above a thousand knights with banners, or chieftains of companies, and more than a thousand esquires, who generously abandoned their country to signalize their courage against Bajazet.

That infidel prince was the son of Amurath I. whom a slave of Lazarus, despot of Servia,\* stabbed in the midst of his guards, to revenge the death of his master, whom the barbarous sultan had taken in an engagement, and caused to be strangled in his presence,† A. D. 1383. Bajazet, before his father's death became public, obliged a secretary of state to write a letter in his father's name to prince Giacup his brother, to come immediately to him. The unfortunate prince, having no idea of the cruel destiny that was to befall him there, came to Adrianople, where Bajazet ordered him to be strangled with a bow-string: a fatal instrument, which most of his

\* Histoire de Turcs. t. I. p. 45. chez Foppens.

† Laus Chalcondyl. t. I.

predecessors, from a pretended scruple of shedding blood so precious as that of the Ottoman race, have generally made use of to dispatch the princes of their family.

Bajazet, freed from a competitor, applied himself to secure the dominions left him by his father, and enlarge them by new conquests. He was a prince warm, bold, and enterprising; always on horseback, and in the field, thirsting after the blood of his enemies, and prodigal of that of his own soldiers. He learned the art of making one's self feared, as the surest rule in politics.\* He first fell upon Bulgaria, and the sovereign of the country falling by the fate of war into his hands, he caused him to be immediately strangled. He next ravaged Bosnia and Croatia, carrying off more captives than he left inhabitants. Macedonia was not exempted from the fury of his incursions; and he fell from thence upon the Morea, reduced part of it, and, on the side of Constantinople, forced his way to the very walls of the city. He would willingly have besieged it in form, but not having a number of forces sufficient for so great an enterprise, he only blocked up that capital of the Greek empire, with several detachments of troops, which he posted in different quarters about it.

He went to finish in Asia, the campaign he had so successfully commenced in Europe. Passing the Hellespont, he over-ran Cappadocia and Phrygia with the same rapidity, and without distinguishing the princes of his own from those of the Christian religion. He attacked Aladin, sultan of Cilicia; but finding too much resistance, he turned his arms against some petty princes of the Turcomans, of

\* Philippi Loniceri Turcica. Hist. Lib. I.

the old Selgeucidian race, called Ethien-Sarkhan-Mendez-Teko, and Metin, who were possessed of different districts of Anàtolia, and plundered them of their dominions. Could he have made himself master of their persons with the same facility, he would have given them no better treatment than he did the king of Bulgaria: but those princes, knowing his sanguinary temper, took refuge at the court of Tamerlane, the great Cham of Tartary, another conqueror, who had reduced Persia, Mesopotamia, and a great part of Syria.

Bajazet, after these expeditions, left prince Ortogules, his son, in Asia, at Bursa, the capital of his dominions, to show his subjects the authority of his own reign, and the expectations of his successors. He then returned to Europe, and fixed his residence at Adrianople, whence he ravaged Attica and Thessaly, conquered part of Macedonia, defeated the prince of Wallachia, and forced him to submit to pay tribute. The rapidity of his incursions allowed no time to oppose them, which gained him the surname of Ilderim, that is, The Thunder, or The Storm. A small body of his troops, detached from the body of his army, advancing on the side of Delphos, A. D. 1394, Theudelinda, the widow of Don Louis Davalos, whose predecessors had seized on that little state, fearing to be besieged by that conqueror, went to visit him at a distance, and in his camp made him magnificent presents, and presented him her daughter, who was considered one of the greatest beauties of the East. The charms of the young princess disarmed Bajazet, who valued this conquest more than he did that of Delphos. He left Theudelinda mistress of it, and brought away her daughter in exchange. At the end of the cam-

paign he ravaged the frontiers of Hungary, destroying all before him with fire and sword; and on his return into his own dominions he sent back some prisoners to Sigismond, charging them to tell that prince, that he would return the next spring to visit him, and when he had drove him out of his dominions would pass into Italy as far as Rome, where he would plant his standards on the top of the capitol, and feed his horse with oats upon the very altar of St. Peter.

The pope, alarmed by these threats, published a sort of crusade against that infidel prince, which was the cause of the abovementioned league. The Greek emperor, the Venetians, and the knights of Rhodes, put a strong fleet to sea, under the command of the noble Thomas Mocenigo, who lay off the mouth of the Danube all the campaign, whilst the king of Hungary made all the nobility and gentry of his country, as well as the militia, take the field. France furnished more regular troops than all the other allies; and when they were ready to march, the king gave the command of that body to John count of Nevers, eldest son to the duke of Burgundy. Philip d'Artois, a lord of the blood, as the stile was at that time, and constable of the kingdom, went with that young prince; and there were in the same army the count de la Marche, Henry and Philip de Bar, all related to the king; John de Vienne, admiral of France, the marshal de Boucicault, the sire de Coucy, one of the most considerable lords of the kingdom, more distinguished by his valour than his riches; Guy de la Trémouille, the seigniors of Roye, St. Paul, Montorel and Sampi, and, in a manner, the most illustrious youth of France, who were inflamed with an eager desire

of coming to an engagement with the infidels.

This French crusade marched through Germany, and, as they passed through Bavaria and Austria, were joined by brother Frederic, count of Zollern, grand prior of Germany, at the head of the knights of his nation. These troops entered Hungary about the same time that the grand master arrived there from Rhodes, followed by the principal commanders and a great number of knights. Sigismond, who knew their valour, declared that he would fight at their head, lodged them in his own quarter, and kept the grand master near his person.

Bajazet was at this time in Anatolia, though others say he was encamped near Constantinople, his troops continuing the blockade of that place; and though informed of the powerful succours that had arrived in Hungary, yet he remained inactive; whether he confided in the valour of the governors whom he had put in the principal places of his frontiers; or would allow time for the impetuosity of the French to cool; or perhaps flattered himself, that jealousy and dissensions would soon break out in so vast an army, composed of different nations; and that the change of air and diet, and the difficulty of getting provisions, might occasion sickness in the camp: in fine, whatever were his motives, he wisely resolved to try what time would produce in his favour. The only precaution he took was, to keep the Christians ignorant of his march, and uncertain whether he was still in Europe or Asia. The allies, having no intelligence of him, passed the Danube, entered Bulgaria, took some little places, and, on a particular occasion, a party consisting only of French, commanded by the sire de Coucy, cut to pieces the troops which the sultan had left

in the country, who had advanced to disturb the Christians in their foraging. This trifling advantage, the number and valour of the Christian troops, the facility they afterwards had in sending out parties on all sides, puffed up the soldiery with presumption; the very generals were infected with the dangerous poison of a too favourable fortune, and Bajazet was talked of only with contempt. They said that he was lurking in the farther part of Asia; the marshal de Boucicault maintained in council, that he durst not pass the Hellespont; and an Hungarian historian relates, that Sigismond seeing himself at the head of a hundred thousand men, of which sixty thousand were horse, most of them men of arms, boasted that he would not only drive the Turks out of Europe, but that if the sky should fall, his soldiers were numerous enough to bear it up with the points of their lances.

This confidence, rash in itself, and ever dangerous in the event, made him undertake the siege of Nicopolis, a strong place, defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by Dogamberg, one of Bajazet's principal captains. This Turkish officer soon made the Christians sensible, by his frequent sallies, that it was much easier to ravage the open country than to take a place, the government of which had been put into his hands; there were fresh combats every day, and the Christians did not gain an inch of ground but what cost them the lives of their bravest soldiers. This vigorous resistance weakened the army of the allies considerably, whilst luxury and debauchery, two enemies yet more dangerous than the Turks, infected all the camp, which, by the young gentry, was made a place of public prostitution. It seemed as if they thought the pious



motive of their expedition was a sufficient dispensation to authorise their violating with impunity the most essential obligations of christianity. The French especially, passed whole days with common prostitutes, and in pleasures as scandalous as they were easy to be obtained. The soldiery, by their example, drowned themselves in wine, and their drunkenness could not even be moderated by their indigence; they passed away every moment like so many bacchanals, which scandalized the Turks as well as the Christians that inhabited the country. This looseness in military discipline, and the little care taken by the commanders to send out parties for intelligence, allowed Bajazet to advance with great secrecy to the succour of the besieged: he was only a day's march distant, when the Christians believed him still in Anatolia. Some soldiers, that had straggled for pillage, were the first that brought the account that the sultan was within six leagues of the camp. Marshal de Boucicault, still ridiculously possessed with his first notion, that the Turks durst not venture a battle, rejected the intelligence with great contempt, and, turning to those marauders, exclaimed; " You rascals, you shall dearly repent putting the camp in alarm with your false news." He even threatned to cut off their ears; but he was soon undeceived, for the van of the enemy's appeared, advancing in good order, and drew up in battle array in the plain.

To this excess of confidence succeeded surprise, tumult, and confusion in the Christian camp. The count of Nevers, who did not think that the Turks could, with their javelins and scymitars, resist the lances and swords of the French, made his cavalry mount. He claimed the post of honour in the field

of battle, and insisted on making the first charge upon the infidels; but the king of Hungary represented to him, that the great multitude of Turks, which covered the neighbouring plains, were only militia and peasants, poorly armed, that had been brought out of Asia in chains, and dragged to the war by force; and that it was the general custom of the infidels to put a great body of these fellows before them, and expose them to the first fury of their enemies, only to fatigue them, that afterwards they might, with the fresh and regular troops which they had in reserve, take advantage of the disorder that would inevitably happen in the beginning of an engagement; that the Hungarians, in imitation of their practice, usually opposed this sort of enemies with militia of a like nature, of whom they made as little account; that he earnestly besought him to permit this infantry to stand the first shock of the infidels; that his cavalry might afterwards, with their lances, pierce through the thickest battalions of the janizaries; that he would sustain his attack with the grand master at the head of his knights, and the gentry of his own kingdom; and that, after all, he desired him to remember, that the honour and glory of a battle did not so much consist in the first onset, as in the last attack, which put an end to the engagement, and decided the victory.

The count of Nevers assembling his council, to give an answer to this representation, addressed the Sire de Coucy, whose advice the duke of Burgundy, his father, had, at parting, recommended him to follow. That nobleman, considering the experience which they had in Hungary of the manner in which the Turks drew up their troops in battle, approved

the order and disposition proposed by the king of Hungary, and supported his opinion by saying, that it would be impossible for the militia of that kingdom to give way when sustained by the French cavalry. The admiral John de Vienne, an old officer, was of the same opinion: but the constable and marshal de Boucicault being piqued that the prince had addressed himself to the Sire de Coucy before he asked their sentiments, declared, that it would be scandalous for the French nation to march after the Hungarian foot; and that they were not come so far to let themselves be preceded by a crowd of sorry peasants and militia, more used to run away than to stand their ground. All the young men, inveigled by this discourse, and hurried away by a mistaken emulation of glory, brought the count of Nevers by their clamours into the same sentiment. The prince, therefore, notified to the king of Hungary, that the French could not yield the post of honour in battle to any nation. He ordered his cavalry immediately to mount; but, before they drew their swords against the enemy, these violent and hot-headed young men put them to a use that was unworthy of the name of Christians as well as of Frenchmen. These knights, under pretence that the prisoners, which they had taken on several occasions, might embarrass them in the action, massacred them all in cold blood, without any regard to the faith and promise they had given them, of saving their lives upon paying the ransom agreed on between them.

They afterwards gave the signal of battle; the French advancing to charge, found themselves stopped at first by a palisade, and several rows of piles sharpened at the end, which embarrassed the

cavalry, and hindered them from marching close together, and in good order. There was a necessity of dismounting, to force and remove this obstacle, which, when they had done, the men of arms again mounted on horseback, and fell upon the Turkish infantry posted over against them; meeting first in their way that great body of militia, which made very little resistance, as the king of Hungary had foretold. Those peasants, who did not merit the name of soldiers, suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, or sought their safety by flight. The janizaries or Turkish infantry, composed of regular troops, showed more courage and resolution. They fought with a valour no way inferior to that of the French; the battle was long and obstinate; at last the French lances opened a way into the thickest battalions of the enemy: the Turks kept their ground no longer, and those formidable janizaries, after losing above ten thousand men, were forced to retire behind a great body of cavalry that advanced to their succour.

This was a sort of a second engagement, which the French were forced to come to with the infidels. The Turkish cavalry advanced with a large front. The Christians, to prevent being surrounded, extended themselves in a long line, and without keeping their ranks duly, or taking any orders but from their own courage; every man of arms, as if the victory depended on his single valour, threw himself in among the Turks with so much resolution, that nothing could resist their impetuosity. The Hungarians, who seemed to have come only to be spectators of the battle, and the infidels themselves, could not cease admiring a bravery that seemed superior to the ordinary force of nature. Five thou-

sand Turks fell in this second engagement; and the French would have ended the day victorious, and covered with glory, had not the fire of those young men hurried them on to the pursuit of the remainder of the cavalry that had retired to a neighbouring hill.

In vain did the chief commander, and particularly the *Sieur de Coucy* and *admiral de Vienne*, advise them to let the infidels fly, or at least to suffer themselves to take breath, and form whilst the Hungarians advanced. All the young gentlemen about the count of *Nevers*, crying out, that it was cowardly to let their enemies escape, pushed on immediately, and without keeping any order, or letting their horses take breath, galloped to a great distance from the body of the army, and mounted the rising ground where they thought to have found the broken remains of the Turkish army. But what was their surprise, when in their stead, they discovered a new army, composed of forty thousand horse, the flower of *Bajazet's* troops? The sultan was posted in the middle of that grove of lances, as in a citadel, in order to take his measures as events might happen. The soldiers start at the sight, and are daunted: they even suspect their first advantages; the certainty of vanquishing, which may be called the first earnest of victory, vanished at once, and fear and terror soon succeeded to a rash confidence. These heroes, who, like lions, made the Turks tremble before them, says the anonymous author of *St. Denis*, "became more dastardly than hares." The whole body broke, and every one fled for the safety of his life. But *Bajazet's* horse cut off their retreat: the greatest part of the French were cut in pieces, and no less

than three thousand of them taken prisoners, among whom were the count de Nevers, the count de la Marche, the prince of Bar, Boucicault the constable, and Enguerrand de Coucy. The admiral de Vienne seeing all lost, made a motion to save himself, when immediately calling to mind what he owed to his glory, and turning about to a few horsemen that remained with him, said, " God forbid, my companions, that we should sully our reputation for the saving a poor remainder of life; we must try fate by a noble defence, or die here in the bed of honour." His words were scarce spoke, when he charged the infidels, pierced several times into their squadrons, and after first seeing his companions fall, oppressed with the number of their enemies, he himself, covered with wounds, expired on the spot where he was fighting.

The Turks having broke this great body of French, marched straight against the Hungarians, who were encamped along the banks of the Danube. This infantry, which was only composed of militia, as we have observed, terrified at the defeat of their allies, did not wait the coming up of the enemy, but broke and fell back upon their own cavalry, filling all with terror and confusion; so that it was a general rout rather than an engagement on this occasion. The Hungarian gentry, and the knights of Rhodes that survived, rallied about the king and the grand master: and though they saw their ruin was inevitable, from the prodigious number of Turks that surrounded them, no one dishonoured himself so far as to endeavour to save his own life by flight; they all stood their ground, and fought with a bravery worthy of a better fate. The greatest part of these gallant gentry, and a great number

of the knights, died on the spot they fought on. The king and the grand master would have shared the same fate, if in the disorder of so general a rout, they had not by chance found a fisherman's boat by the river side: this they got into, and notwithstanding a shower of arrows, put off from the shore, and letting themselves drive with the current, got to the mouth of the river, from whence they discovered the Christian fleet that was riding near it. The king, notwithstanding the loss of so many knights, was received there, with all the respect due to his birth and dignity.

The day after the battle, Bajazet ordered the prisoners to be massacred in his presence, in reprisal for the Turkish prisoners which the Christians, before the battle begun, had sacrificed to a shameful precaution. The sultan, whose avarice served for a counterpoise to his cruelty, exempted the count of Nevers and twenty-five of the principal nobility out of the general massacre, in hopes of having a great ransom for them. This being sent from France, the count de Nevers went to take leave of him, when Bajazet said, with a haughty air, " I do not require thee to take the most solemn oath never to fight against me, as I might force thee to do; on the contrary, if thou hast any sense of honour, I entreat thee to take the field as soon as thou canst, and to assemble all the forces of Christendom: thou canst not do me a more sensible pleasure, than by furnishing me with new occasions of acquiring glory."

The sultan, after so glorious a victory over the Latin Christians, turned his arms against the Greeks, his troops over-running the Morea, and destroying all before them with fire and sword. He after-



wards called in all his detachments, and advanced towards Constantinople, when he changed the blockade into a regular siege. The emperor Manuel, terrified at seeing so formidable an enemy before his walls, begged for succours from all Christian princes; but the wars which then distracted Europe, did not allow him to expect any immediate relief; and besides, the loss of the battle of Nicopolis, and the tears that were still streaming for the death of so many lords as had perished there, had cooled the zeal of the principal nobility and gentry. The Greek emperor, therefore, saw himself reduced to have recourse to Tamerlane, the great cham of Tartary. He sent ambassadors to him with rich presents, entreating him to use the power of his arms, or at least to interpose his good offices, in order to put a stop to the enterprises of an ambitious prince, who, without any distinction of religion, was for enslaving all the sovereigns that were in the neighbourhood of his dominions.

Whilst this great affair was treating at Tamerlane's court, Thomas Palæologus, despot of the Morea, and brother to the Greek emperor, considering that great potentates never assist little ones *gratis*, laid no stress upon that embassy: he therefore retired to Rhodes, whence the king of Hungary was just departed to return to his own dominions, A. D. 1399. The Greek prince was received as honourably as the king of Hungary, in an island which served at that time for a refuge to all Christian princes that were persecuted by the infidels.

Palæologus, diffident of his own strength, and perhaps of his courage, sold the Morea to the order of St. John, and agreed with the grand master and council, to deliver up to them Corinth, Sparta, and

the principal towns of that great province: he received the price stipulated for them, partly in money, and the rest in jewels. The commissaries of the order embarked immediately, in order to take possession of the province; they were received with great joy by the magistrates and inhabitants of Corinth, who thought themselves, under the protection of the knights of Rhodes, sufficiently secured for the future from the incursions of the Turks. But the inhabitants of Sparta acted very differently: The bishop of that city, who followed the Greek ritual, and was consequently an enemy to the Latins, not questioning but the order would, as soon as they were masters of the place, put a Latin bishop into his episcopal see, called the citizens together, and represented to them the misfortune they were going to be exposed to by submitting to the power of the Latins, so pathetically, that the inhabitants sent a deputation to the commissaries of Rhodes, to acquaint them, that they were resolved not to admit them into their city; and that if they offered to come near it they should be treated as enemies; so that the commissaries, not having force sufficient to make themselves obeyed, resolved to return to Rhodes.

The despot being naturally inconstant, and finding it hard, after he had reigned as sovereign, to reconcile himself to the condition of a private man, gave back part of the money, went from Rhodes, and returned to Sparta, where he was received with great joy by his subjects, who assured him that he should find the same obedience from them, and the same fidelity that he had experienced for so many years; provided he would not treat with the Latins, nor admit any of them into the government: so

great and so implacable was that aversion which the Greek bishops had inspired into their people, against all those who acknowledged the authority of the pope; and I do not know whether they would not have submitted to the government of the Turks, rather than to that of any Christian prince whatever, in the communion of the church of Rome.

The order had a great deal of trouble in getting back from the Greek prince the rest of the money, which they had given him. Raimond de l'Estoure, prior of Tholouse, Elias du Fossé, commander of St. Maxence, and Peter of Beaufremont, the grand hospitaller, made several voyages into the Morea on that account. At last this affair was terminated by brother Louis d'Allemagne, commander of Naples, a knight of an insinuating temper, and a very able negociator; and, by the treaty made with Palæogus, it was stipulated, that the order of St. John should restore to him the town of Corinth, and he should give in exchange the county of Soleil, with the barony of Zetoone, besides 46,500 ducats, which he was to pay of the money he had received at Rhodes; and of which he paid 22,000 down.

Bajazet, in the mean time, carried on the siege of Constantinople with vigour, designing to make it the capital of his empire, and would have taken it, had not Tamerlane, the great cham of the oriental Tartars, at the solicitation of the Greek ambassadors, and the entreaties of the petty princes of Anatolia, whom Bajazet had plundered of their territories, advanced to put a stop to the progress of a prince, who seemed inclined to set no bounds to his ambition and conquests. It is more than probable, that the Mogul or Tartar prince engaged in this war, not so much from a principle of compassion, rarely

to be met with in princes, as out of jealousy against a neighbour who was grown too powerful.

Whatever be the motives with which princes usually set off their manifestoes, Tamerlane made use of only what were noble and generous, and he sent an ambassador to Bajazet, to demand from him the re-establishment of the petty princes, that had taken refuge at his court, and that he would at the same time raise the siege of Constantinople. The ambassador also presented him, in his master's name, with a magnificent vest; but as such presents, in the East, are only made to inferiors, Bajazet, the proudest mortal living, rejected it with disdain. When he mentioned Tamerlane, he treated him as a soldier of fortune, and a captain of a band of robbers; and ordered his ambassador to tell him from him, that if he was daring enough to enter his dominions, he knew how to make him repent so rash an enterprise.

There are some authors who assert, that Tamerlane was the son of a shepherd, or a herdsman. Some modern historians, or rather some modern translators of old historians, derive his descent from a royal house among the Moguls of Zagathay. The Tarikh Montekh pretends, that he was descended from Genghizcan by the female side; yet he took upon himself, at first, only the title of Emir, or commander; to which, after he had conquered some provinces, he only added that of Kurkhan, or the Ally of Princes; which might incline us to think, that he did not at that time look upon himself as a prince. But fortune having raised him to the dignity of Great Cham, his extraction increased in proportion to his power, and he at last became too potent not to be descended of royal blood. We are

little better informed of the religion of this prince than we are of his birth. There are some, who say he was neither a Jew, a Christian, nor a Mahometan. Ahseben-Arabschach says, that he adhered to the law of Genghizkhan, and that his religion had a greater affinity to the Christian than to the Mahometan; yet it seems as if from a political view he accommodated himself, at least outwardly, to the worship and religion of the greatest part of his subjects, who were Mahometans; the rest was indifferent to him, and contenting himself, as Genghizkhan did, to adore a first Being, and one God alone, he very freely left him the care of his own glory, and the establishment of his law.

Whatever was the birth and religion of Tamerlane, the Arabian Alhacen, in the history or romance of his conquests, pretends, that this prince or chieftain of the Moguls, at the head of a numerous army, first reduced under his empire all the Tartar princes that possessed the north of Asia; that he gained victories over the Muscovite, and afterwards subdued Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria; that he made the sultan of Egypt tributary; that some monarchs of the Indies were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him; and that China itself, or at least the northern part of that vast empire, owned him for its sovereign; so that during the whole course of his life, a victory served only to open a fresh occasion for a new war; and if we may believe Alhazen, the whole world was attentive, and turned its eyes upon his enterprises, which became the greatest spectacle of the whole universe. This famous Tartar had a stern look, squinting eyes, a lowering countenance, and a terrible menacing air, that broke out in all his actions.

Such was the greatest of the successors of Genghizkhan, and the second hero of the antient Mogul Tartars. But without adopting all the fables published about him, it is certain, that he was a great captain, a native of Zagathay, who, by his valour, raised himself to a prodigious fortune; and by his activity, courage, and admirable discipline, made himself the terror of all his neighbours. He was cruel and bloody in his temper, and it was his usual saying, that "A monarch was never safe, if the foot of his throne did not swim in blood;" a maxim worthy of a Tartar, and which he never deviated from during the whole course of his reign.

This barbarous prince, upon receiving Bajazet's answer, took the field at the head of 800,000 men, commanded, under him, by his sons, and tributary princes; but the absolute power which he exercised indifferently over both, sunk them to the level of the meanest officers, and all of them were equally submissive to the power and majesty of this dreadful monarch.

No sooner had he declared war against Bajazet, than he attacked Sebaste or Siuvas, a city of Capadocia. Ortogules, a young prince, full of courage, had thrown himself into the place, in order to signalize his valour, in hopes of stopping the Tartar's progress, and giving time to the sultan, his father, to advance to his relief: but notwithstanding the valour of the prince, and the bravery of the garrison, the place was carried by storm, when the soldiers, and all persons capable of bearing arms, were put to the sword, and the women and maidens, the children and old men, were all brought out of the town into a plain, where they were all massacred. The city was afterwards razed to the

ground, and the Tartar, who never reckoned clemency and generosity among the virtues, caused the son of his enemy to be beheaded.

Bajazet, whose constant prosperity rendered the insults of fortune more insupportable, abandoned himself to violent grief when he heard the fatal news. He loved his son tenderly, and took pleasure in seeing the seeds of ambition and glory, which he had inspired him with, grow up in the heart of the young prince. A death so unworthy of his rank and birth, threw him into inexpressible transports of rage: he vowed the destruction of Tamerlane, and, hurried away with the violent desire of a speedy vengeance, without allowing himself time to raise a sufficient body of troops to oppose so formidable an enemy, he raised the siege of Constantinople, passed the Bosphorus, and advanced towards Phrygia. Historians relate, that as his army was on the march, he saw a shepherd upon a neighbouring hill, who, secured by his poverty from the rapaciousness of the soldiery, was playing quietly upon his pipe. The sultan stopped for some moments to hear him, when, full of grief, and perhaps envying the condition of the poor man, he said to the shepherd, "I beg of thee, let the burthen of thy song be, for the future, Unhappy Bajazet, thou shalt see no more thy dear son Ortogules, nor thy city of Sebaste!"

He met the Tartars near Angouri, or Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. His army scarcely contained 120,000 natural Turks, but he had a horde of Tartars, that inhabited beyond the Euxine and Caspian seas, commanded by Mahmoudkhari, who had enlisted himself under Bajazet. As the sultan had experienced the valour of the Treballians before



he had entirely subdued them, he drew from them a body of foot, though contrary to their inclinations; and fear and terror, the only bonds of slavery, forced them to expose their lives to support the dominion of a prince, whom they deemed a tyrant over them.

The battle was fought at the foot of Mount Stella, in the very plain where Pompey had formerly defeated Mithridates. The shock of the two armies was terrible, and the action very bloody: the Treballians distinguished themselves by an extraordinary valour, victory began to declare itself in their favour, and they pursued the Tartars whom they had obliged to run away. Bajazet, fearing that the heat of the action should carry them too far, sent them orders to return to their post. They obeyed: Tamerlane rallied his troops, put himself at their head, and shewing them the retreat of the Treballians, represented it as a downright flight. He gave orders to prince Saruch, his son, who commanded a wing of his army, to charge them, which he did, and, after a bloody fight, forced them in their turn to give way. The Asiatic Turks, terrified at their defeat, quitted their ranks without striking a blow; and Bajazet found by experience, that in an engagement there was no making the least motion without danger, before so able a general as Tamerlane.

We have observed, that Bajazet had a great body of Tartars in his army. Those barbarians, bribed by their own countrymen, deserted the sultan in the very height of the combat; and their commander, to give the finishing stroke to his treachery, pursued the Turks in their route, killed great numbers of them, took Bajazet prisoner, and presented him to Tamerlane.

There are very different accounts of the manner in which the Tartar received him. Some historians say, that he reproached him with his pride, his cruelty, and his presumption; "Oughtest thou not to know," says he to him, "that none but the sons of the unfortunate dare resist our invincible power?" Other writers assert, on the contrary, that Tamerlane received him with great civility; that he conducted him into his own tent, entertained him at his table, and to comfort him under his affliction, discoursed of nothing but the vicissitude and inconstancy of fortune. They add, that he sent him an hunting equipage, either from a principle of compassion, or else perhaps from contempt; and that the haughty Tartar felt a pleasure in letting him know, that he thought him fitter to follow a pack of hounds, than be at the head of a great army.

This at least was the interpretation that Bajazet himself put upon the mysterious present of his enemy. That unfortunate prince, having no command over his resentment, replied, to the man who came with the present, "Tell Tamerlane, that he has acted very right, in inviting me to an exercise that hath always been the diversion of princes, and is much fitter for Bajazet, who derives his birth from the great Amurath, the son of Orchanes, than for a soldier of fortune, as he is, and a captain of a band of robbers."

Tamerlane soon resumed his true character, and, provoked at so outrageous an answer, gave orders that very moment for putting Bajazet, without a saddle upon an old horse, that had been used to carry the baggage, and expose him in that manner through the camp, to the jests and raillery of his soldiers, which was immediately executed; and at

his return they brought the unhappy Bajazet before his conqueror, who asked him, with a scornful sneer, if that recreation was not likewise one of the pleasures with which his illustrious ancestors used to divert themselves? To these sharp invectives another outrage succeeded, that pierced him to the very soul.

Bajazet had married Miliera, or Mary, daughter to Eleazer despot of Servia. The Turks called her Ucogli; she was the most dear to him, and the best beloved of all his wives. Tamerlane, who had taken this princess in the town of Bursa, which he had reduced just before, caused her robe to be cut shorter than the knee, and in this condition, in a manner half naked, forced her to wait upon him at table, and fill out his liquor in her husband's presence. Bajazet, who had no weapon left him but his tongue, distracted with anger and indignation, and perhaps with jealousy, told him aloud, that, sprung as he was from the dregs of the people, and from parents too obscure to be known, he ought to be ashamed of trampling upon royal blood, and of being wanting in the regards due to a princess, whose birth commanded respect from him. The Tartar only laughed at the impotent rage of his prisoner; he carried him about afterwards in his train, loaded with chains; and they even assert, that he caused him to be shut up in an iron cage like a wild beast. Bajazet could no longer support such a number of outrages; and his misfortune was the greater, because he had always been happy before. Some historians pretend, that life growing insupportable to him, he, to put an end to it, knocked out his brains against the bars of his cage. Other writers relate, that a slave having insolently thrown

him a fish bone, as he would have done a dog, Bajazet, after having sharpened it with his teeth, made use of it to dispatch himself: others make him die of an apoplexy, as they were conducting him to Samarchand, the capital of Tamerlane's dominions.

As all the designs of that prince tended to an imperious sovereignty, he had no sooner triumphed over the power and life of Bajazet, than he proposed to reduce all the other princes of Anatolia. Most of them, those especially who had implored his protection against Bajazet, were continually making their court to him; but under the name of allies, they were little different from his other subjects, and their chains no less heavy for being gilt. There was none but the grand master of Rhodes and his knights, who, though eternal enemies to the Turks, would not crouch under the power of the Tartar; this was the reason which caused him to declare war against them. But as he had no fleet to transport his army across the sea, and besides, as the whole island of Rhodes was defended by bastions, redoubts, towers and bulwarks, and seemed to make but one single fortress, and to defy an attack on any side, the Tartar chose to begin with Smyrna,† a city inhabited by the knights, rich by its commerce, and having the convenience of a port, which in time might supply him with ships to transport his troops into the isle of Rhodes, and the other islands in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, which he was desirous of conquering.

The city of Smyrna, as we have already observed, is situated in that part of Asia which was peopled by the Greeks, and known antiently by the name of Ionia, though since called, as it is at this day,

Anatolia. The town was built like an amphitheatre, on the declivity of a hill that lay to the south-west; but from the middle up to the very top of this hill, nothing was to be seen but ruins; the lower part was always well inhabited. In Tamerlane's time there was a castle which guarded and commanded the port. Brother John de Biandra, prior of Lombardy, when he took this fort, had put the arms of the church upon it. And though Clement VI. who was at the head of the Christian league, assumed to himself the honour of this conquest, yet Gregory XI. one of his successors, weary of the charge of maintaining a garrison in it, granted the property of it to the knights of St. John, who undertook to defend it.

It is easy to imagine, from what has been observed in the course of this history, what a vast expence the maintaining of this place, and the fortifications which they added to it, were to the order, which always kept a numerous garrison there, commanded by some of the knights. The grand master seeing himself on the point of being attacked, either by Bajazet or Tamerlane, according as fortune should decide their fate, sent brother William de Mine, the grand hospitaller of the order, to command in Smyrna; and he threw into the place, at the same time, a supply of ammunition and provisions, a body of fresh troops to reinforce the garrison, and a sum of money for the paying of them.

Tamerlane, who knew that Smyrna was better fortified by the number and valour of its defendants, than by the fortifications and height of its walls, in order to prevent the dangers and length of a siege that might prove a very bloody one, made no other demand but what he thought necessary for his glory.

insisting only, as a point of honour, that the knight, who commanded in the place, should suffer him to plant his standard upon the towers: but the governor rejected this proposition with indignation; so that there was no remedy left but the fortune of war, which must decide that of the place. Tamerlane, incensed at the refusal, caused it to be invested; his troops began the attack by filling up the ditches with earth, hurdles and fascines, while their archers were plying those that defended the walls with showers of arrows. The knights made frequent sallies, to hinder their works from advancing; there was every day some skirmish or other, in which those soldiers of Jesus Christ strove with emulation to signalize their valour against the infidels.

The next thing Tamerlane had recourse to was, that of undermining the walls: but the Christians throwing down great pieces of rock, large stones, and beams of timber, crushed the most daring in pieces, and hindered the rest from coming near the foot of the walls. The Tartar, provoked at so brave a resistance, and greater designs calling for his presence in other places, he resolved, in order to take the place with greater expedition, to attempt an assault. With this view he caused a prodigious number of wooden towers to be built: they were a sort of walking machines, which the besiegers pushed upon wheels, and brought very near the walls.

- \* Chalcondilas, speaking of this siege, says, that Tamerlane put two hundred men in every one of these towers, which had ladders within them, and a sort of stair-cases to go up to the different floors. The lowest floor was generally designed for the workmen who conducted the machine, or for the soldiers who worked to undermine the wall; the middle floor was

on a level with the top of the wall, and contained a bridge, which was to be thrown down upon the wall itself, for the besiegers to pass upon it and force their way into the place; and, upon the highest floor they placed their archers, who, having the advantage of the higher post, infested and drove off with their arrows such as offered to defend the place.

\* Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yedz, a cotemporary author, translated out of the Persian tongue into the French, by the late M. Petit de la Croix, junior, has left us a relation of the siege of Smyrna; and though that author does not expressly name the knights of Rhodes, yet it is very easy to distinguish them in the description that he gives of the defenders of the place; and I fancy it will not be disagreeable to the reader to copy that passage of his history. The Persian historian, who died in 1456, expresses himself on this subject in these or such like terms:

“Timur was informed, that there was upon the sea-coast a place exceeding strong, built of hewn stone, surrounded by the sea on three sides, and on that of the land by a deep ditch, all built with lime, and cemented from the top to the bottom; that there was a great number of Europeans within it; that it was called Ismir or Smyrna; that the Greeks looked upon it as a holy place; and persons resorted thither from remote countries in pilgrimage with great devotion, who there offered up their vows, and brought their alms; that there was near it, about the distance of a horse’s course, another fortress upon the ridge of a mountain, called also Ismir, but possessed by Mussulmen, who were continually at war with those of the other place, on account of their difference in religion; and as the Smyrna of

the Christians was surrounded by the sea on three sides, they were relieved from Europe by sea, and had provisions, clothes, arms, and all other necessities brought them that way. And as this place was seated in the farthest part of the frontiers of Asia, and the country of the Mussulmen, the Greeks carried on from thence a cruel war, and defended the place, as being of the utmost consequence to them; that it had never been taken by any Mussulman prince, nor ever paid tribute to any body; that Amurath, the father of Bajazet, had taken the field several times, at the head of a mighty army, without being able to carry his point; and that Bajazet himself had kept it besieged for seven years together, without making any progress in it; that this place infested the Mussulmen exceedingly, and nothing was to be seen but slaughter and streams of blood flowing continually into the sea like torrents.

“ When Timur was informed of the state of Smyrna, his zeal for religion persuaded him that it was his duty to deliver the Mussulmen from trouble by entirely destroying their enemies. He detached hither the Mirza Pirmehemet Gmarchoicz, the emir Check Nouredden, and others, with orders, first to summon them by an ambassador to embrace the Mussulman religion, (for such is Mahomet’s order;) that if they should be happy enough to do so, his pleasure was, that they should be kindly treated, and that they should give him notice of it, in order that he might bestow his favours upon them; that if their obstinacy should soften, and whilst they desired to continue Christians, would submit to pay tribute, they should regulate the sum with them and receive it; but if, unhappily for them, they should



dare to stand upon their defence, they should put them all to the sword.

“ The Mirza and the Emirs obeyed immediately, and coming before Smyrna, sent an ambassador to invite the inhabitants to turn Mussulmen, using threats as well as promises for that purpose; but as they were predestinated to destruction, both were useless; and Mahmony, the governor of the place, had sent to demand succour of all the princes of Europe, so that he had got together a great number of the bravest Christian captains, or rather a company of mad devils, who erected magazines there, and supplied it with ammunition and provisions.

“ Our generals gave advice thereof to the court, and Timur, upon the news, resolved to go thither in person. He left his baggage at the foot of the mountain of Tire; and though it was winter, and the weather exceeding rainy, he would needs mount on horseback, that the merit of this religious war might be ascribed to him, and march on that side. He arrived there on Saturday the 6th of Juma-zyulevel, an. 805, at the head of his army, and sent orders to the Mirza Mehemet Sultan, who was in winter-quarters at Magniscah, to advance and post himself before Smyrna. The like orders were sent to Merasmiren Chuh and Bonleen, as also to the Emir Gehan-chah and others. At Timur's arrival before the place, they beat all their drums and kettle-drums, and the whole army set up a great shout. The place was immediately attacked on the land side, and every general carried on the sap over against his post, and prepared engines and battering-rams for the assault. They shot arrows and threw pots of wild-fire upon the gates of the castle; the Emir Chamelec caused likewise great scaffolds,

with three feet, to be erected in the middle of the water near one another, over which they threw great planks; and from the two sides of the castle to the place where the feet of the scaffolding touched upon the land, they made a plain even way, and so firm, that the soldiers might boldly stand and walk on them, without fearing their breaking down, and fight there as well as if they had been upon land. This being finished, the Mussulmen took their bucklers, and got up on the scaffolds, assaulting the castle from thence; and the way being thus shut up on the side of the sea, it was impossible for any body whatever to succour the besieged.

“ In the mean time the Mirzas, Mèhemmend sultan, and Miranchah arrived, having left their baggage at Magni-siah, under the care of the Emir Chamfeddin-Abbas: this reinforcement was of great service in forwarding the siege, for Timur gave orders for the general assault. The Emir of Loumans and colonels of Hézares, with their troops advanced to it, each on the side where he was posted, and the assault lasted from morning till evening, and from the evening till morning, the brave men on both sides performing actions of wonderful valour. If the attack was obstinate and resolute, the defence was equal to it, and no body had time to rest a moment; the engines and battering rams beat down the walls and towers, and the besieged still undaunted, were continually throwing pots of naphta, wildfire, and showers of stones and arrows from engines as well as bows, without the least intermission.

“ All this while the rain was so excessive, that it looked as if the universe was going to be overwhelmed with a second deluge; yet notwithstanding

ing this prodigious storm, the indefatigable Timur was every moment giving orders to his generals, and encouraging his soldiers in person. After the miners had finished their work, and propped up the bastions and courtines with stones, they filled the mines with fascines and faggots dipped in naphta and set fire to them; upon which the walls were thrown down at once, and several of the besieged fell from the top of them, and were killed. The musulmen forced them sword in hand to quit the breaches that they defended, and made their way into Smyrna, crying out victory, and praising God, to whom they offered the heads of all their enemies by way of thanksgiving for their success. Very few of those escaped who had thrown themselves into the sea, and were swimming to the ships that lay off, great numbers of them being drowned in the attempt. After they had put the people of Smyrna to the sword, they demolished the buildings both of the town and castle, and threw the materials, the bricks, arms and goods, into the sea.

"Some great ships called caraoas came from certain parts of Europe; these had two masts at least, and were well provided with soldiers and arms on board to succour those of Smyrna. When they drew near the port, and saw no marks either of the town or castle, they were startled and stopped their course. Timur gave orders to throw the heads of some of the Christians on board these ships, and the throwers of wildfire having executed his orders, several heads fell into the very ships. The seamen knowing the heads of their comrades, tacked about and returned in a fright, altogether disappointed of their expectation."

This is Cherefeddin's relation of what past at the

**Siege of Smyrna.** It is plain from thence, that what he says of the pilgrimages made by the Christians to that city, whither, he says, they brought alms, is to be understood of Jerusalem, which name the knights were called by. The succour which those of Smyrna sent to get in Europe, from whence they received a number of brave captains, or rather a company of mad devils, all this description represents the gallant defence made by the knights. The author has not forgot the great carrack of the order, and when he treats the knights as sea-faring men, it is plain that he means those of Rhodes. Yet after all, they were unable, as we have seen, to resist the efforts of Tamerlane.

That barbarian, as his custom was, slaughtered all the inhabitants, and demolished the place. He acted thus cruelly in order to intimidate such as should refuse to open their gates to him. Whenever he laid siege to any town, they always planted the first day a white standard upon his tent, to show that he was disposed to use clemency to those that should surrender immediately. The day following, that signal was of a red colour, to signify that he would have blood, and that the lives of the governor and the principal officers of the garrison, must pay for not surrendering on the first summons. But the third day they planted a black standard, to declare, that whether the place was carried by storm, or made a voluntary surrender, every body was to be put to death, and the town entirely destroyed. Notwithstanding all the precautions that his cruelty made him take, several knights, and a considerable number of the soldiers, made their escape, upon the town's being taken, by throwing themselves into the

sea, and swimming to the ships that were come to throw succours into the place.

Tamerlane, whom we may consider as another Attila, and as a scourge of God, after filling Asia Minor with blood, had a design to pass over into Europe, and extend his conquests as far as the pillars of Hercules; to cross afterwards the streights of Gibraltar, and after reducing Africa, to return by the way of Egypt into his own dominions. But as he was making preparations proportionable to so vast a project, he received advice, that a king of India, whose name historians do not mention, had fallen into Persia, ravaged a great part of the country, and taken Cheri, one of the principal cities of that kingdom, where Tamerlane's treasure was kept, which now became the prey of this other barbarian.

The proud Tartar, who fancied himself superior to all the monarchs of the world, and perhaps even to fortune, and the condition of human nature itself, fell into a rage at the news. He immediately marched against that prince, resolving to cut him to pieces; but after several engagements, finding he had to contend with a prince as powerful and as great a captain as himself, and feeling himself advanced in years, he thought proper to make peace with his enemy, and retire to his own territories to Samarchand; where he died shortly after,\* occasioned by having abandoned himself to wine and women. His sons divided his empire between them, but soon fell into dissensions, which gave Bajazet's children an opportunity of recovering their father's dominions. These were Joshua, Mussulman or Calapin, Moses and Mahomet, who

\* April 1, 1415.

reigned in succession: the three first came to a violent end; Mahomet survived the rest, and several historians of that nation, without taking notice of his brothers, rank him as the immediate successor to Bajazet.

Whilst these civil wars lasted, and the infidel princes disputed the empire, the grand master made advantage of these divisions; and to provide for the better security of the isles belonging to the order, particularly of that of Langos, he formed a project for taking an old castle, situated on the main land, twelve miles from that island, in the gulf of Ceramis, and upon the ruins of Halicarnassus, the capital city of Caria; a town famous for the magnificent tomb that queen Artemisia anciently erected for king Mausoleus her husband. This place was not less illustrious in antiquity for the birth of the Greek historians Herodotus, and Dionysius, surnamed Halicarnassus. The grand master went on board his fleet, coasted along Caria, landed in the gulf, entered the port with a south-west wind, landed his troops, surprised and attacked a garrison of Tartars, which Tamerlane had left in the place, and made himself master of it; but finding it weak, he resolved to raise another, which he built upon a rock, on the point of a peninsula that jutted out into the sea: he named it the castle of St. Peter, and the Turks called it afterwards Bidrou, strengthening it with all the fortifications that art could invent; the walls were very high, and there were portholes at certain distances, supplied with cannon, which kept the enemy's ships at a distance. The place was still better fortified on the land side; and besides the height and thickness of the walls, the entrance was defended by bulwarks and bastions, and

it is said that seven gates should be passed through before the body of the place could be entered. There was an inscription over the last of them, in these words of the psalmist, "*Nisi Dominus ædificavit civitatem frustra vigilat qui custodet eam*;" to signify, that the strongest garrisons cannot preserve a place which is not built in the name and for the glory of the Lord. When the fortress was in a state of defence, the grand master deepened and enlarged the ditches, so as to let the sea into them; and he always kept a number of brigantines, barks and feluccas, which, in concert with the galleys of Lango and Rhodes, blocked up the river of Caria, and hindered the vessels of the corsairs from entering it; while the castle, on the land side, served as a place of refuge to such christian slaves of the neighbouring countries as could find means to escape from the prisons and chains of the infidels.

The grand master's care was not confined to the preservation of the isles of the order; he equally concerned himself in the defence of all the christian states in the East: he was a sort of general in ordinary to them. The isle of Cyprus particularly, which is situated near Rhodes, owed its preservation entirely to the fleets and forces of the knights. But if their valour kept the infidels at a distance, all the prudence and skill of the grand master could not guard against and prevent the ill effects of the dastardly spirits of the Cypriots; a nation effeminated by luxury and voluptuousness, which, though they professed the christian religion, still sacrificed in reality to the goddess of pleasure, the ancient tutelary divinity of the island in the times of paganism.

Peter of Lusignan was reigning in the island at that time. Some important affairs calling him to

Italy, before his departure, he left the government of his kingdom to the count of Rohas or Rohais; so they then called the country of Edessa, of which he was only the titular lord, since the conquest of it by the infidels. The regent, in the king's absence, debauched the queen, and, in concert with her, took measures to deprive him of his crown: it was almost impossible for them to have carried their iniquity higher. The king having advice of their ill designs, by an express secretly dispatched by a lord Visconti, returned immediately, caused the traitor to be seized, and delivered him into the hands of justice, to be punished according to the rigour of the law. But as the laws, in that effeminate nation, had scarcely any vigour, the judges, being corrupted by the queen's credit and her adulterer's presents, pronounced him innocent, and Visconti was condemned as a slanderer, to perpetual banishment. The king, enraged at a sentence that dishonoured him, from a wise and moderate prince, became a furious and cruel tyrant; and, in order to revenge himself, fell upon all his subjects without distinction. He loaded them with irons, confiscated their goods, ravished the honour of their wives and daughters, and even abandoned them to the ministers of his tyranny upon the slightest pretences; and the least suspicion of rebellion was equivalent to actual treason, and the suspected were immediately hurried away to punishment.

The common prisons not being sufficient to hold the great number of unhappy wretches, whom he caused to be seized every day, he ordered a new one to be built in the middle of the public square; and, from the most refined vengeance, forced even persons of quality of both sexes to work at it, and



assist the masons. In this number of persons there happened to be a woman of spirit, who endeavoured to engage them to throw off so detestable a yoke. To accomplish this, though descended from one of the best families in the island, under pretence of walking with greater ease under the burthens she was forced to carry, she tucked up her petticoats and shift above her knees, and continued so till the king, who came regularly every day to see his workmen, appeared with all his court about him: as soon as she saw him, she let down her petticoats, but when he had passed by she tucked them up again. Some persons, scandalized at this breach of modesty, demanding of her why she veiled her nakedness before the king only, she answered, "Because women are not so scrupulous before one another on that head; and as to you, there is not one among you who seem to have any thing of the man in him but the king." This reproach raised a violent indignation in the Cypriots: they were ashamed of their own weakness and cowardice, and fell immediately upon the king and slew him. They gave the crown to Petrin or Peter II., his son, a young child, who was still under the direction of a governor, and put the regency of the kingdom into the hands of James de Lusignan, a prince of the blood, and the child's uncle.

This prince, at his accession to the government of the kingdom, or as others say, at the young king's coronation, made a noble feast: a great number of Venetian and Genoese noblemen were at this royal entertainment. These strangers disputed for precedence, but, by the regent's credit, it was decided that day in favour of the Venetians. The Genoese, in order to revenge themselves, resolved

to carry it by force, and agreed to come the next day to the palace, with arms concealed under their cloaks. The regent having notice of their plot, ordered eight noble Genoese, who were walking in the hall of the palace, to be thrown out of the windows, and to make the case still more odious, it is said, that these noblemen were entirely ignorant of the design of their countrymen.

This news being carried to Genoa, the senate, to revenge the barbarous outrage, sent a strong fleet to Cyprus, with fourteen thousand land forces on board, under the command of Peter Fregose. The Genoese ravaged the island, besieged and took Famagusta, and seized upon the regent, who was carried ignominiously with the princess his wife to Genoa, and shut up in prison. He continued there till the young king's death, who, leaving no issue, he became his heir. The Genoese now set him at liberty, but sold it to him very dear; and before they suffered him to return to his dominions, they obliged him to make them a cession of the city of Famagusta, to be enjoyed by them in absolute sovereignty, and to submit to pay them an annual tribute of ten thousand ducats.

James, to gain his liberty and crown, signed the treaty, resolving to give it one day such an explanation as should be suitable to his interest. The situation of his affairs did not allow him, during his life, to get rid of this vassalage. Janus his son, so called because he was born at Genoa, being brought up from his cradle in an hereditary hatred against the Genoese, attempted to surprise the city of Famagusta; which occasioned a war between that prince and the Genoese. Those republicans had for a long time been torn to pieces by the ter-

rible dissensions that broke out between the body of the nobility and the people, and had a little before given themselves up to Charles VI. king of France, who had put John le Meingre, called marshal de Boucicault, to command in Genoa, as governor or viceroy. That lord, to oppose the designs of the king of Cyprus, ordered a fleet to be fitted out immediately, resolving to command it in person; and till this armament might be in a condition to set sail, he sent Anthony Grimaldi, knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, with three galleys and some land forces, which entered the port of Famagusta without the least opposition.

Boucicault, having equipped seven great vessels, and nine galleys, set sail for the Levant; he landed first in the isle of Rhodes, and was received by the grand master and the knights with all the honours due to his personal merit, and to the dignity of the prince he represented. The grand master lodged him in his own palace, and entertained him several times in a castle or banqueting-house seated on a rising ground near the city. In the discourses that passed between these two great men in private, the grand master represented to the marshal, that whatever pleasure he had to see him in the isle of Rhodes, he could not help being sensibly concerned at the occasion that brought him thither with an army; that the island of Cyprus, lying in the neighbourhood of Palestine and Egypt, had always been a convenient place for the European fleets to put in at; that it was the strongest bulwark the Christians had then left in the East; that he was going with his army to bring upon it all the calamities that are inseparable from war; that he was even going to assist the Saracens, and facilitate their conquest

of the island; and then conjured him to suffer him to go over into Cyprus, being in hopes that God would bless his voyage and intentions; and he might perhaps be happy enough to restore peace and amity between the two nations.

Boucicault replied, that conquest was not so much his business as the preserving the rights of a republic that had put itself under the protection of the king his master; that the king of Cyprus might have peace, if he pleased, and would abandon his enterprise on Famagusta, and that as for himself, he had much rather turn his arms against the infidels than employ them against a Christian king, especially against a prince whose illustrious house derived its original from France.

The grand master having got so favourable an answer, ordered the admiral galley to be fitted out, and taking two others with him for a convoy, set sail for Cyprus. The marshal, not willing to remain idle during the grand master's voyage, went on board his fleet, purposing to ravage the country about Alexandretta, a city of Syria, then called Lescandelours or Scanderoon, situated twenty-five leagues from Aleppo on the gulph of Lajazzo, in the midst of some marshes, and but a little distance from the sea; a Turkish prince was lord of it at that time. Boucicault landed his troops, which consisted of eight hundred knights and esquires, among which were the banners of the marshal, of the seignior d'Acher, of the seignior of Chateau Morant, of messire William de Naillac, of the same name with the grand master; and those likewise of the seigniors of Chateanneuf and Puyos; he had about three thousand men on board that little fleet in all. The lord of the country was then five great

days journey from Alexandretta, and was encamped on his frontiers, to oppose his brother, who disputed the seigniory with him. The marshal taking advantage of his absence, ordered the seignor of Chateau-Morand to attack the lower town, that was inhabited chiefly by merchants. Every thing there was plundered, and their rich magazines amply rewarded the valour of the soldiers, whilst at the same time the marshal's fleet made themselves masters of the port. The lord of Scanderoon having advice, that whilst he was defending the entry of his country against his brother, the Christians were on the point of taking his capital, hastened to the succour of the place, which was much straitened. He made several attempts to throw in succour, but finding all the passes secured by the marshal's troops, he had recourse to treaty, a method always most suitable to the weaker side, and sent ambassadors to the marshal to complain, that without having ever had any dispute with the Genoese, and without any previous declaration of war, he had fallen upon his dominions, and there committed acts of hostility, which are never practised but between open and declared enemies. His ambassadors added, that how just soever the complaints of their master were, yet if the marshal would withdraw his troops out of his territories, he was ready to enter into a strict confederacy with him; and in case he came to a rupture with the king of Cyprus, he would oblige himself to furnish him all the necessary supplies for sustaining that war in an island so remote from Genoa.

The marshal listened to these proposals the more willingly, in that if he was obliged to make war in Cyprus, he might draw provisions and other suc-

scours from that country which lay near the island; and besides he was afraid of making any stay on that coast, in a season when the air of Alexandretta was so very unwholesome and dangerous, by reason of the exhalations arising from the marshes, when those who did not die, were certain not to come off without a grievous fit of sickness. Having there made his treaty with the lord of the country, and spent only fourteen days in the expedition, he re-embarked his troops, and stood off for the isle of Cyprus, to hasten the grand master's negotiation, but he found the affair very much forwarded.

That prince having a conference with the king, made him sensible of the power of the Genoese, and represented to him, that he was not in a condition to make head against the forces of that republic, especially when commanded by a general of the marshal's experience; that if he should call the Venetians to his succour, he would make his country the theatre of a bloody war; that he himself would be the victim of it; and that whoever would be victorious in war, he would have nothing left but the choice of his tyrants: that he therefore advised him to adhere religiously to the treaty which the Genoese had made with the king his father, and not to trouble them in the possession of Famagusta, by which means he would interest them in the defence of the whole island, against the enterprises of the sultans of Egypt, who had several times attempted to make themselves masters of it.

This representation was not only founded upon good sense and the wisest policy, but being given by the grand master, was something more than advice. The kings of Cyprus had for many years been supported merely by the protection and suc-

cours which they drew from Rhodes; and the prince could not reject the grand master's good offices and mediation, without incurring the indignation of the order. The grand master indeed was at that time considered the most powerful Christian prince in all the East; and the order never had braver officers, nor a greater number of them. The convent was generally peopled with a thousand knights; most of the isles called Sporades depended on it, and the sea was covered with their fleets. The Rhodian merchants, under the protection and convoy of the vessels of the order, grew rich by their commerce: there was not a corsair durst venture near the seas of Lycia, and we may affirm, that the arms of the order were as terrible to the infidels, as its valour was generally esteemed by the princes of Christendom; so that it is less surprising the king of Cyprus should pay so submissive a deference to the grand master's sentiments. It was agreed between them, that the siege of Famagusta should be raised, and the king, by the grand master's mediation, had a conference with the marshal; but a difficulty started up, which had like to have ruined the negotiation before the treaty was signed.

The Genoese engaged Boucicault to insist that the king of Cyprus should reimburse them the expence of the war, which they made amount to very considerable sums. The king maintained on the contrary, that they ought to be satisfied that he had, out of regard to the grand master, been content to raise the siege of a place which had belonged to his ancestors for so many ages, and which he was on the point of reducing. Both sides maintained their pretensions with equal ardour, and there was reason to apprehend that this article might break

off the treaty; but the grand master, who knew the importance and necessity of a peace, prevailed with the king of Cyprus to pay the Genoese seventy thousand ducats; and as the young prince was not master of such a sum, he got it lent him out of the treasury of the order, which, for security, had the regal crown, with vessels of gold and silver, and precious stones, as a pawn, till the money advanced should be all paid. After the conclusion of this treaty, the grand master and marshal re-embarked, but before they returned to Rhodes, they resolved to ravage the coasts of Syria and Palestine, which were then in the possession of the Saracens and the troops of Tamerlane. They landed on the coast of Tripoli, thinking to surprise the garrison and inhabitants of the place; but they found the shore defended by above fifteen hundred men, in which number were six hundred cavalry, part of Tamerlane's troops, all dressed, says the historian of Boucicault, in fine velvet and cloth of gold.

Though the Christians saw plainly that the infidels had notice of their design, and were prepared to receive them, yet they resolved to make a descent upon the coast. The marshal put himself at their head with the grand master, who was attended by brother Raimond de Lesture, grand prior of Toulouse, brother Peter de Beaufremont, hospitaller, and a great number of other knights of the order. These knights, hurried on by their courage, and without waiting till the boats could put them on shore, threw themselves up to the neck in the sea, and advanced boldly sword in hand against the infidels; and though the Christian troops made at most but three thousand men, and the army of the Saracens was computed at fifteen thousand, our



knights, sustained by the troops of Genoa, charged them so furiously, that the barbarians, not able to stand the attack, gave ground and fled, but rallied afterwards at some distance from the shore, when their commanders drew them up in order of battle. There was no great likelihood that the Christians should, with so small a force, advance and attack that great body of Saracens, which was likewise covered with hedges and defiles, and had the strong city of Tripoli behind them. But the grand master and the marshal could not bring themselves, notwithstanding the inequality of number, to re-embark without advancing nearer them; so that letting their soldiers take breath, they divided their little army into three bodies; and taking care not to get at too great a distance from the shore, for fear of being intercepted by the Saracens, they marched towards them, and attacked them sword in hand. They charged on both sides, and closed together in a moment; the combat became bloody, and lasted for some time with fury; but the greatest loss falling upon the infidels, they retired into gardens planted with fruit-trees, and fenced about with thick hedges, but not thinking themselves safe enough there, most of them ran to the city for refuge; in a word, the whole body was broke, and the Christian generals met with no enemy to resist them. However, not having a sufficient body of troops to form the siege of Tripoli, a place of great strength, and defended by a garrison numerous enough to take the field, the Christians re-embarked; but before they returned, the grand master and the marshal resolved to make an attempt on Baruth, and try if they should find the enemy on their guard, and prepared to receive them.

Baruth, or Berytus, a town of Phœnicia, was at that time considerable on account of its commerce. Its harbour served for a port or staple to all the merchandise carried from Egypt into Europe; and most of the Christian merchants, and particularly the Venetians, had their counting-houses and considerable magazines there. The Christian fleet sailing on its course, saw a light bark, called at that time Gripperio, coming out of the port of Baruth, and making all the sail it could to escape from them; but a galley being ordered to pursue it, soon came up with it, and brought it back to the generals. The captain of this little vessel being examined, according to the laws of war, about his condition and circumstances, and the reason of his eagerness to avoid the Christian fleet, he owned himself a Christian and a Venetian, but did not care to say more. However, being threatened to be put to the rack, the fear of torture made him confess, that he had been dispatched by the Venetian general to all the sea-ports of Phœnicia, Palestine and Egypt, to give the subjects of the sultan of Egypt advice of the Christians being at sea, under the command of the grand master of Rhodes and the governor of Genoa, in order that they might take the necessary precautions against the enterprises of their enemies. Most of the soldiers and officers of the fleet, enraged at the intelligence given them by this Venetian, were for throwing him into the sea, but were hindered by their generals, who continued firm in their resolution of keeping on their course and making a descent near Baruth.

As the town was but poorly fortified, the inhabitants, on the advice brought them by the Venetian, had carried the best of their effects into the woods

and mountains. This did not prevent the Christians from landing; and after plundering the town, they set it on fire, re-embarked and sailed towards Sayda, anciently called Sidon, another town of Phœnicia, thirty-five miles from Baruth. They found the same precautions there, the port and shore lined with inhabitants, all in arms, to the number of ten thousand men. The grand master and marshal, however, by help of the engines which they had on board, made their descent at the head of two hundred men of arms, and as many cross-bow men, and were going to land the rest of the troops, when they were surprised by so violent stormy weather and a contrary wind, that they could not continue their landing. The grand master and marshal saw themselves, by this means, left with only five or six hundred men about them, destitute of succours, and exposed to enemies vastly superior in strength, who might have cut them to pieces if they had known how to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity.

The barbarians indeed advanced to charge them, but the Christians closing and keeping their ranks, opposed them on all sides so resolutely, that they thought fit only to fight at a distance and incommode them with their arrows. The Christians did the same, and the sea, after a storm of five hours, growing calm, they re-embarked in sight of the infidels, who durst not advance nearer than within bow-shot of them.

They landed afterwards on the coast of Lidda, another town of Palestine, which the Greeks anciently called Diospolis, that is, the city of Jupiter. This place was situated in a plain, about a league north of Ramatha; it was covered on one side by a

mountain, and on the other by a wood. They landed in a little creek or bay, which was defended by two towers. They discovered only three thousand men or thereabouts, who appeared and kept themselves at a distance from the sea, seeming to be afraid of them. The generals, in order to reconnoitre them, put some troops on shore, without any opposition being made to their landing; and, on the report of the principal officers, resolved to attack the enemy next day. But for fear the barbarians, assisted by the night, should surprise the troops that were landed, they made them retire on board the fleet in the evening. The infidels seeing the Christians re-embarking, and believing that their scouts had discovered the ambuscade which they had laid between the town and the sea, sallied out from behind the mountain and the wood, to the number of above thirty thousand men, all of them sword in hand, and setting up a great shout, boldly advanced to the brink of the sea. It was this precipitate eagerness to show themselves, which saved the Christians, who would have been all cut off the next day, if they had, pursuant to their design, marched to Lidda and advanced into the plain, where they must have been intercepted and surrounded by an army that was so very numerous, and so vastly superior to their own.

The grand master and the marshal seeing the season so far advanced, and that there was nothing to be done along the coast, took leave of one another, the grand master returning to Rhodes, and the marshal sailing for Famagusta, where, upon his arrival he gave the necessary orders for the security of the place. He staid but a few days there, and then set out on his return to Italy; but before he

made for Genoa, he touched at the isle of Rhodes, to thank the grand master and the order, for their good offices towards him in the late treaty concluded with the king of Cyprus. The grand master treated him nobly, stored his fleet with provisions and refreshments, and showed him the principal fortresses of the island, their garrisons, arms, and the magazines in each of them. The marshal particularly admired the port of Rhodes, which was fortified with two castles, well provided with warlike engines that commanded the mouth of it, and filled with an infinite number of ships of war, merchant vessels, galleys and galliots, saicks and feluccas, most of them equipped for war, and making frequent returns with various prizes that they were continually taking from the infidels, and chiefly from the subjects of the sultans of Egypt. Those barbarians could scarcely venture out of the port of Alexandria, or sail in the seas of Cyprus and Lycia, without being taken by the knights of Rhodes.

The sultan, though full of resentment at these captures, and the several descents which the grand master had made upon his coasts, thought it more proper to make peace with the order, than to continue a war so prejudicial to his subjects: with this view he sent an ambassador to Rhodes. As the knights were on the point of entering into a league of Christian princes against the Turks, and it was not proper to have two such mighty enemies to oppose at once, they resolved to hear the sultan's minister. Commissioners were named to enter upon a negotiation, and peace was soon agreed upon, by reason of the disposition there was in both parties to conclude it; but it was easy to see that the grand master prescribed the terms of the treaty.

Naillac, who had always in view the spirit and main design for which his order was instituted, took care to have it stipulated, that, in order to prevent the profanations of infidels, he should have leave to wall in the holy sepulchre; that he might always keep six knights in Jerusalem, who should be exempted from all Carache, or tribute; who might entertain other knights in their house, and such pilgrims as should come out of devotion to the holy city; that the order might ransom Christian slaves, either by paying the same money that they cost their masters, or by giving a Saracen in exchange for a Christian; that there should be a free commerce between the subjects of the order and those of the sultan, and that the grand master might keep consuls at Jerusalem, Rama and Alexandria, to secure the Christians from the exactions they were exposed to in the territories of the infidels: and in fine, that the ships of the order might export corn out of the sultan's dominions. It was agreed likewise, that in case either party was for breaking the treaty, and beginning the war, he should be obliged to make a public denunciation of it three months before, that both sides might secure their effects before acts of hostility were begun: all which conditions are a demonstration of the sultan's eagerness to make peace, and his fear of the power and forces of the knights.

But how numerous would the forces of this formidable body have been, had they not been divided by the unhappy schism which then infested the order as well as the universal church? We have already observed, that there were two popes at the same time in the church, each of them having different nations under their authority, and two super-

riors in the order independent of each other. The convent of Rhodes, the knights in the East, with those of France, Castile, Scotland, and part of Germany, acknowledged the authority of the grand master, who adhered to Benedict XIII. successor to Clement VII. whilst the popes that succeeded Urban VI. had, in order to retain the Arragonian, Italian, and English knights, as well as those of the kingdoms of the north, Bohemia and Hungary, in their obedience, appointed Italian commanders to be their superiors, under the title of lieutenants of the grand mastership; and who, as if that great dignity was not already filled up, governed this part of the order without having the least intercourse with the grand master of Rhodes. It is easy to guess what prejudice such a fatal division must cause in that island, which saw its forces divided, and that for a long time received no contribution from the priories and commandries that had separated themselves from the body of the order.

Happily at this juncture the cardinals, who adhered to both the popes, excited by the zeal of most of the princes of Christendom, agreed to join their endeavours to assemble a general council; and it being then uncertain which of the two rivals was the true pope, whether Peter de Luna, stiled Benedict XIII. or Angelo Carrario, who had taken the name of Gregory XII. these cardinals resolved to put a person into the chair of St. Peter, whose election should be so indisputable, that no Christian could help acknowledging him for sole and lawful head of the universal church.

It was with this view that the cardinals had, in all the conclaves held from the time of the death of Urban VI. and Clement VII. subscribed to a formal

instrument, whereby the person who should be elected out of their body, engaged himself for the sake of peace to renounce the popedom, which they called accepting of the vote of cession. But experience demonstrated afterwards, that all those whom they raised to that supreme dignity, thought themselves, the moment they received the papal crown, dispensed from the promises they had made in order to attain it: and the competitors, by a tacit collusion, agreed in nothing but in one point, which was never to agree upon any of the several expedients proposed in order to bring about a reciprocal cession.

The fear of seeing this schism perpetuated in the church, determined the cardinals to call a general council in the city of Pisa in Italy. Scarcely had a more illustrious, and withal a more numerous assembly been seen in any part of the Christian world. There were present at it 22 cardinals, 4 patriarchs, 12 archbishops in person, and 14 by their proxies, 80 bishops, and the proxies of above 100; the grand master of Rhodes, accompanied with 16 commanders, the prior of the knights of the holy sepulchre, and procurator of the Teutonic order; 87 abbots, in which number were the abbots, superiors of the order of the Cisterrians, of Grammont, of Camaldoli and Vallombrosa, with the proxies of the abbots general of the order of the Premonstrants, and of St. Anthony of Vienna; the proxies of 200 other abbots; and an infinite number of priors and ecclesiastics; the deputies of the universities of Paris, Thoulouse, Orleans, Angers, Montpellier, Bologna, Florence, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Oxford and Cambridge; above 300 doctors in divinity and canon law; and the ambassadors of the



kings of France, England, Portugal, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland and Cyprus, of the dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorraine, Bavaria and Pomerania, of the marquis of Brandenburg, and landgrave of Thuringia, and of almost all the princes of Germany.

This famous council was opened on Lady-day; March 25, A. D. 1409, they sat several times, and after several citations had been made in vain to the two pretenders, who would never answer them, and all other formalities requisite to be observed in causa majori, and in an affair of such importance, the holy council proceeded at last to a definitive sentence, declaring Peter de Luna and Angelo Carra-rio schismatics, and guilty of perjury and artifice, in order to impose on the faithful, and keep up the schism which had distracted the church for so many years together, depriving them of the popedom, and allowing the cardinals to proceed to the election of a sovereign pontiff: during which the guard of the conclave was committed to the grand master and his knights.

All the cardinals present in the council gave their votes unanimously for the cardinal of Milan, who at his inauguration, and at the ceremony of his coronation, took the name of Alexander V: a person illustrious for his eminent piety and profound knowledge: qualities equally to be wished in all those persons who fill that august dignity. This pope was a Greek by birth, and of the isle of Candia, but born of parents so miserably poor, that he was abandoned by them in his infancy, insomuch that he never knew any he had; this made him say, after his advancement to the pontifical chair, that the church would, during his pontificate, be secure from nepotism. This holy pope indeed made a mere wor-

thy use of his riches, employing them equally in relieving the poor, and in rewarding men of virtue and merit. Whatever joy the church in general expressed at the election of so pious a pope, and in expectation of its putting a final end to the schism, no body could be more affected with it than the grand master, who considered it as a means to reunite all Christian princes, and engage them in a league against the Turks. With this view, and to carry on this important negotiation, he made choice of brother Walter de Grassy, prior of the church of Rhodes, and brother Lucius de Valines, grand marshal, and sent them as his ambassadors, to most of the sovereigns of Christendom, to notify to them the pope's election. Their orders were to represent in his name the favourableness of the present juncture for making war upon the Turks; that the throne of Bajazet had received a terrible shock by the fall of that prince, and by the victories of Tamerlane, and that they might make their advantage of the civil wars risen up between the sons of the Turkish prince, who disputed his succession, and the weak remains of his empire.

The grand master having acquainted the pope with the design of this embassy, received the praises due to his zeal on that account. The holy pontiff told him, that if they could carry their point in that affair, he would declare himself head of the league, and be at the chief expense of the expedition. At the same time he sent a nuncio to Rhodes, to notify his election to brother Dominick of Germany, the grand master's lieutenant, and the council and convent of Rhodes. The pope, though the grand master was near his person, took this step from a particular regard for the whole body of the order,

which was always supposed to reside in the isle of Rhodes.

The pope, to put a final end to the particular schism which had so long infested the order, issued a bull, which he ordered his nuncio to publish over all Christendom, wherein he declared, that brother Philibert de Naillac was the only lawful grand master of all the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, enjoyning, by virtue of the obedience they owed him, and under pain of excommunication, all the religious of the order, whether knights, chaplains, or serving-brothers, in what part of the world soever they might reside, to acknowledge him for their head and only superior.

In consequence of this bull, the grand master summoned a general chapter at Nice, which was afterwards translated to Aix in Provence: and in his summons, after representing at large, and in a moving manner, the evils which the schism had caused to the whole church in general, and to the order in particular, he orders all priors, and the four eldest commanders of each priory, to appear at the chapter by the first of April, to concert measures for the restoring of discipline and the reformation of the order, in the head as well as in the members of it.

The grand master was preparing to set out for this assembly, where his presence was highly necessary, in order to extinguish the remains of the schism, and restore a perfect union and harmony between all the knights, when the pope, who knew his merit, and the peculiar talent he had for negotiation, obliged him to undertake an embassy from him to the kings of France and England, who were then at war, to mediate a peace, or at least a long

truce between them. The grand master accepted this commission the more willingly, because he considered the peace he was going to treat of as a means to engage those two powerful monarchs to join their forces against the infidels. But not to deprive the order by his absence of the advantages that might be expected from the chapter, he allowed that august assembly to choose three persons to preside there in his stead; and the choice of the members fell upon the brothers James Tivelly prior of Auvergne, Raimond de Lecture prior of Thou-louse, and Philip de Langueglia, prior of Lombardy. In this chapter several regulations were made of very great consequence, relating as well to the responsions, which were payable out of the commandries into the common treasury, as to the ill use which certain priors made of their authority. The treasury had, during the schism, been deprived of all its dues and contributions, arising from the commandries situated in England, Scotland, Arragon, and part of Germany; in the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary and all over Italy; it was therefore ordered that visitors should be sent into all these countries, to re-establish the right of the order there: and the priors were expressly prohibited from seizing for the future, as some had done, in the commandries within their priories, upon the forests, rights of fishery, those of mort-main and for marriage, and, in a word, upon all the seigniorial rights which they had assumed to themselves to the prejudice of the commanders; and a statute was made, that, for the future, every commander, in order to enable him to pay his responsions the more easily, should enjoy all the rights and profits of his commandry, without the prior's appropriating the least

part thereof to himself under any pretence whatever. They chose likewise in this chapter an administrator of the treasury, naming for that post brother Raimond de Lecture prior of Thoulouse, and grand commander of Cyprus; a knight very zealous for the interest of his order, and well versed in the direction and ordering of the public revenues. The order made choice of him, in hopes that he would find out an expedient to oblige the commanders of Italy and other countries, who had divided from the body of the order during the schism, to pay the arrears of their responsions, and continue them for the future, with the exactness which their profession required them to observe, with respect to their statutes and the orders of their superiors.

But unhappily the schism was not yet extinguished. The council of Pisa, far from terminating that great affair, had only perplexed it more. Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were indeed deposed there, and they had chosen Alexander V. for their successor; but the two first refused to acknowledge the authority of the council, and each of them maintained his own election with more obstinacy than ever; so that, instead of two popes as they had before, they had now three. These troubles, which infested the church, served as a screen to most of the commanders, who, under pretence of adhering to those two antipopes, refused obeying the grand master, and neglected to pay their responsions.

Pope Alexander V. dying in the beginning of May at Bologna, they were greatly surprised and scandalized to see his place filled by cardinal Baltazar Cossa, legate, or rather tyrant of Bologna. He had been a pirate in his youth, and afterwards turned ecclesiastic, thinking it the best profession

for him to make his fortune. This change he made without deviating in the least from his first way of life, and one would rather have taken him for a soldier than a man devoted to the service of the altar. His relations afterwards procured him an archdeaconry in the church of Bologna; but finding that post too narrow for his ambition, he resolved to go to Rome. It is said, that when he set out on his journey to that capital of the Christian world, his friends asking him whither he was going, he answered, "I am going to the popedom." Boniface IX., successor to Urban, and one of the popes who kept up the schism, made him his chamberlain; a dignity in which he had amassed immense wealth, by employing all the artifices of simony. But he did not labour for himself alone, for he was obliged to account with Boniface, who was as greedy as himself in scraping up riches, and who connived at his pilferings, to share the profits with him. Cossa procured the legateship of Bologna from him, and as a publican or farmer of the revenue, made the most of it. They say that it was partly by his credit and intrigues, that after the death of Boniface IX., and Innocent VII., his successor, he got Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. deposed in the council of Pisa, and Alexander V. elected, whose great age made him flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding him in a little time. But death moving with a slower pace than his ambition, he was suspected of having him poisoned. Theodoric of Niem, his secretary, in his history of the schism, represents him as a man polluted with avarice, cruelty, and the most abominable incontinency. However, as he was canonically elected, he was enthroned by the name of John XXIII.

This change of dignity did not make him alter his conduct; he was still as loose as ever in his morals, always grasping at the wealth of others, and carrying on a sordid traffic with the most holy things. Sigismond the emperor, or only king of the Romans, whom we have had occasion to mention in quality of king of Hungary, in a conference he had with this pope at Lodi, opened himself very freely in relation to his irregularities, and pressed him to put an end to the scandal he gave to the whole church by his simony. That prince had desired this interview, in order to engage the pope to call a general council. Besides the benefit that might accrue from thence to the whole church, Sigismond, who had always his own interest in view, and who was as great a politician as he was an ill captain, not finding himself in a condition singly to support the war, which the Turks were carrying on in Hungary, flattered himself with the hopes, that if he could but carry his point in extinguishing the schism, he might find a way to unite all the Christian princes in a league against the infidels. With this view he caressed John XXIII., persuading him that he would get him acknowledged in a general council, (by the condemnation of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.) for the sole pope and pastor of the universal church. But his real design, which he kept secret, and which was discovered by time only, was, to have all the three popes deposed, and a fourth elected, by the concurrence and votes of the cardinals of the three parties. Pope John, who did not see through this political turn, and who stood in awe of the emperor, in order to keep measures with him, called the council at Constance. Besides the rooting out of the schism, which was

the chief thing proposed to be done in that august assembly, they were likewise to set about reforming the church in its head and members, and to examine, at the same time, the doctrine of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who had revived Wickliff's heretical opinions in Bohemia.

It was expected that the emperor's remonstrances, and especially the calling of a general council, would keep the pope or the officers of the apostolical chamber in some awe; but it made no alteration in their conduct. The order of St. John suffered in a particular manner upon that account: the pope, or such as made use of his authority, in consideration of a large sum of money, issued a bull, by which licence was given to a certain knight commander, who had made his vows, to renounce them, to quit the habit of the order, and to marry. The sovereign pontiff at the same time caused the commandry, which that religious enjoyed, to be resigned to him; and they say he sold it afterwards to a boy not fourteen years old, whom he dispensed with taking the habit and making his vows. He carried these dispensations still farther, in favour of another child but five years old, named Aloyse or Alexis, natural son to the king of Cyprus, whom he suffered, in consideration of a rich commandry, which he sold to his father, to take the vows of the order at that age.

From the same principle of avarice, and without any regard to the important services done by the order to all Christendom, he seized on all the priories and commandries that he heard were fallen vacant, and sold them afterwards to such as offered most money; so that the convent of Rhodes, or rather the whole order, was in danger of being utterly ruined by his avarice.



This was the occasion of a letter which the council wrote to him in the strongest as well as most moving terms. In this letter they represented to him, with a generous liberty, that the knights who resided at Rhodes, and in the neighbouring isles, went to signalize their zeal against the enemies of the faith, shedding their blood daily in the defence of the Christians that went to visit the holy places; that themselves, as well as their predecessors, had, at entering into the order, founded several commandries out of their own patrimony. That most of the Christian princes, edified with their zeal, had followed their example in making those pious foundations; that his holiness, by seizing those estates, or bestowing them on his creatures, was going to deprive Rhodes of its gallant defenders, and the convent of the necessary supplies for its subsistence; that the oldest knights had always looked upon those commandries as the just recompence of their services, and the only means of relief in their old age; and that if he continued to deprive them thereof, they would soon see the isle of Rhodes abandoned a prey to the infidels, and every knight, unable to subsist there any longer, seeking at last a refuge among his relations, which could not fail of redounding to the great scandal of Christendom, and the dishonour of the holy see.

Fond as the pope was of his sovereign power over all ecclesiastical possessions, the just complaints of the order, and his fear of the knights laying them before the council, served to counterbalance his avarice. He revoked the grant that he had made of the commandry of Cyprus in favour of the bastard above-mentioned; but as he never did any favour or act of justice gratis, he could not bring

himself to repay the king of Cyprus the money that he had received in hand; the order was forced to reimburse it out of their own treasury; and after the council, in order to get rid of this oppression, had submitted to such hard conditions, he exacted six thousand florins more from them, before he would issue the brief of revocation.

We pass over in silence other excesses of his, still more shocking, which are mentioned by historians, and the very acts of the council, though it were indeed to be wished they had drawn a veil over them. We shall only say, that though the pontiff, out of regard to the emperor, had appointed the council to be held at Constance, an imperial city, situated between Swabia and Swisserland, he yet came thither with great reluctance, as if he had foreboding apprehensions of the fate that awaited him in that place.

It is said, that when he arrived near the city, viewing it with some concern from the top of a neighbouring mountain, he could not help saying, with a heavy smile, "There is the hole where they catch foxes." But as he had gone too far to return back, he entered the place, attended by the cardinals and his whole court. He opened the council on the 1st of November, and appointed the first session to be held on the 16th of the same month. There passed in this council things that will be ever memorable: the prosecution and deposing of two popes; the voluntary or forced abdication of a third; the canonical and lawful election of a fourth; the re-union of all the churches of the West under his obedience; the execution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; the civil war that broke out on that occasion in Bohemia; the various springs made use

of to bring about such great events; all this has been treated by such learned pens, that we shall only say, with regard to the particular design of our work, that after the deposing of John XXIII., the cession of Gregory XII., and the condemnation of Benedict XIII., when they were to fill the chair of St. Peter, the council, in order to avoid the cabals so usual in the conclave of cardinals, and provide a worthy head for the universal church, ordered, in the fortieth session, that, for this once; and by consent of the cardinals, six ecclesiastical deputies, out of each of the five nations which composed that august assembly, should be joined with them to make this important election.

In fine, on Thursday the 11th of November, fifty-eight electors gave their votes for Otho Colonna, cardinal-deacon of the title of St. George, avelo aureo, who, in memory of St. Martin of Tours, whose feast was kept that day, would be called Martin, and was the fifth of that name. This pope was descended from one of the most noble houses not only of Italy but of all Christendom, which has, in various ages, produced great men and heroes of all characters. Such as have since descended from this noble race have, by their actions, reflected back as much lustre as ever they derived from their ancestors.

The pope, after the forty-fifth session, dismissed the fathers of the council on the 25th of April, 1418, with the usual ceremonies; and those prelates, who had so long been kept at a distance from their respective dioceses, set out on their return with pleasure. The grand master would have been glad to have returned at the same time to Rhodes; the necessities of the order called him back, and he was

invited thither by the ardent wishes of all his knights, who had made several processions, and offered up public prayers for his preservation and return. But his zeal for the order did not allow him to quit Europe so soon: all he could do was, to send eighteen thousand crowns out of his own purse to Rhodes, in order to relieve the wants of the convent there, which, by the unhappy consequences of the schism, was reduced to extreme indigence.

We have seen, in the course of this history, that the fatal schism, which had infested the church for above forty years, had occasioned a like division in the order of St. John, and that most of the European knights adhered to the popes their sovereigns followed. The unanimous election of Martin V. having put an end to these different parties among Christian princes, the next business was to root them out in the order, and re-unite to the body all the various members that had separated, particularly the Italian knights, who, notwithstanding the decrees and particular ordinance of pope Alexander V., had, under pretence that Gregory XII. would not own the authority of the council of Pisa, persevered in obedience to that antipope, under the authority of the pretended lieutenants of the mastership. The grand master, after the voluntary cession of Gregory XII., and the unanimous election of Martin V., considered that the most important affair of his order would be, to efface every trace of this unhappy schism.

But as he could not undertake any thing without the consent and concurrence of the principal persons of the order, he called an assembly of the priors, receivers, and oldest commanders of France, Spain and Savoy, at Avignon. The grand master ac-

quainted them with the reasons of that particular convocation; and, after various opinions had been proposed and debated, they agreed in one that suited the republican government of the order, which was, to call a general chapter at Rhodes, and summon the greatest number of priors and old commanders that could possibly be got together to it; and withal to send a particular deputation to the priors of Lombardy, Venice, Rome and Pisa, who had been, till then, averse to own the grand master's authority, in order that their re-union to the entire body of the order might be authorised by the decrees of a general chapter; or else that that august assembly, in which the sovereignty of the order was vested, might decree such penalties as they should think proper, against the disobedient and refractory.

With this view they commissioned brother John de Patru, the conventual treasurer, to go into Italy; and to authorise him with proper powers, the grand master gave him the title of visitor and corrector in the four priories above-mentioned: and his orders were to demand of them the re-establishment of their responsions, which had not been paid since the beginning of the schism. A proposal of this nature, though undoubtedly just, was not without great difficulties. The business in question, was to levy a sort of tribute or tax upon a set of men that had been bred for above forty years in a spirit of independency. However, as those knights had adhered to the Italian popes, only out of an idea that they were the rightful successors of St. Peter, and had submitted to them in the sincerity of their heart, as soon as they had account of the voluntary cession of Gregory XII. and the unanimous election of Martin V. they readily acknowledged this last pontiff;

and from the same disposition received the visitor with respect, making protestations of their filial obedience to the grand master, and promising to come to Rhodes to the general chapter, in order to receive its decrees in person, and conform themselves to them in every article.

The priors of Capua and Barletta, the commanders of St. Euphemia, Venusia, Naples, and St. Stephen de Monopoli, and all the knights of the kingdom of Naples, excited by their example, dispatched the chevalier de la Porte to the grand master, with a letter drawn up in the form of a legal instrument, wherein they acknowledged him for their lawful superior, and demanded with earnestness to be received immediately into a union with the body of the order, from which they said they had been separated by the misfortune of the times.

Their deputy met with the grand master at Bologna. That brave old man, notwithstanding his great age, and the fatigues he must necessarily pass through in such continual voyages, had come to Florence to confer with the pope, in order to find out an expedient to engage the most potent Christian princes in a league against the sons of Bajazet, who began to make themselves formidable; and after having taken leave of the pontiff, he went to Bologna, where the envoy from Naples met him. The grand master was greatly pleased to see all his order united at last, and informed with the same spirit of submission and obedience. His answer to the Neapolitan knights was, that now he had received such a declaration of their submission and reunion, with the body of the order, he had nothing more to wish for before he died; that he invited them to come to the general chapter that was to be

held at Rhodes, on the eighth of September that very year; and that in order to prepare the matters which were to be treated of in that place, it would be proper for them to meet him at Ancona, to deliberate about them in an assembly, which he would hold there before the end of March.

The bailiffs, the priors, and the principal commanders of Italy, did not fail to come to the assembly. Brother John Pignatelli, commander of St. Stephen of Monopoli, was the only person, who, though expressly summoned, neglected to appear. The grand master was at first inclined to take no notice of the only person that proved refractory to his orders: he saw plainly that it was the dregs, and a sort of leaven of the same rebellious spirit, that had caused such a destructive schism in the order. But as he was for extinguishing even the least sparks of it, he ordered him to be summoned a second time to appear before him, allowing him only to the 15th of April for that purpose. The commander persisted in an obstinate silence; and the grand master was forced to send him a third summons, enjoining him upon his obedience to come to Rhodes within five months, on pain of being degraded from the order, and deprived of his commandry. He persisted some time longer in his disobedience; but seeing preparations made for executing the grand master's orders against him, he returned to his duty. The next thing the assembly applied to, was to restore regular discipline in all the provinces of Italy: several very necessary regulations were there made: what was less urgent was put off to the general chapter, and all prepared to set out immediately for Rhodes.

The grand master embarked soon after, and arrived safe at Rhodes towards the end of July, where

he was received with universal joy, and with that tender respect which great merit, supported by great dignity, always inspires. The people in particular, to whom he was a father rather than a prince, made bonfires on the day of his return, which was kept as a general feast all over the island. The grand master's first care was to examine into the state of the magazines; and finding that the badness of the last harvest had raised the price of corn, he sent ships immediately to several ports of Italy, to fetch corn of all sorts from thence, which brought plenty into his territories.

This great man afterwards opened the general chapter. There had not for a considerable time been held one so remarkable, either for the number of persons that composed it, or for the importance of the matters there treated of. Here appeared, for the first time, most of the knights that had been before engaged in the schism, and had insensibly, though with good intentions, transgressed the bounds of their duty. They all returned to it: the priors and bailiffs of Italy, England, the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary, and Arragon, made a solemn recognition of the grand master as their head and only superior; the schism was never mentioned but with detestation: the knights, who had been under different obediences in order to celebrate their re-union, embraced one another with joy; and both considering it as the result of the grand master's wisdom, strove to guess at his intentions, and anticipate them by conforming themselves to them. The great and only object they all had in view was the glory of God, and the defence of their fellow Christians; so that before the chapter broke up he easily got several decrees passed, very neces-



sary for the re-establishment of discipline, and the regulations of the revenues of the order. He sent the records of this chapter to the pope, who ratified them by his authority. It was the seal which that wise pontiff put to the peace and union of the order; and it was likewise the last transaction that passed under the government of this grand master. It looked as if he waited only for the news of it, in order to quit life with the greater satisfaction. He fell ill a little while after he had received the pope's brief, and without any preparation but that of a holy life, ended his days with a tranquillity that may be considered as a presage of the felicity which heaven designed for him, A. D. 1421. His place was filled by brother Anthony Fluvian, or de la Riviere, of the priory of Catalonia, standard-bearer of the order, and grand prior of Cyprus, or great conservator and lieutenant to his predecessor. The peace, which the order had enjoyed in the last years of the mastership of Naillac, was interrupted by several enterprises of the infidels; and the knights saw themselves successively attacked by the Turks of Asia, and by the Saracens of Egypt.

We have seen in the beginning of this book, in what manner the Ottoman power had like to have been entirely destroyed by the valour and good fortune of Tamerlane, and the captivity or death of Bajazet. This last prince left four sons, Ysa or Joshua, Musa or Musulman, Moses and Mahomet. Joshua, after Tamerlane's death, recovered Bursa from the Moguls, and would have made a greater progress had he not been obliged to turn his arms against Musulman, who, supported by a body of troops, which the emperor of Constantinople furnished him with, advanced against his brother, at-

tacked, and took him prisoner, and caused him to be strangled. Moses, who seemed only to wait the success of this civil war, before he declared himself, appeared upon the stage with a strong army, seized on Adrianople, and offered battle to his brother, but was betrayed by the Bulgarians in his army, who deserted him in the heat of the engagement. Moses, knowing well the fate allotted to the vanquished, fled to Adrianople, reserving himself for another occasion. He gathered together and rallied the remains of his army, bribed Chasan aga of the Janizaries, and Ebrenex commander of the Spahi, who came over to his party. With this reinforcement he again marched against his brother, defeated his army, and getting him into his power, caused him to be strangled.

The Greek emperor, to foment this civil war among the Turks, set up Mahomet Zelebin, or the young, against Moses: he was the last of Bajazet's sons, and, during the misfortunes of his family, had been hid in the house of a lute-string maker. It is said that he learned the trade, and that those who were intrusted with his education did not let him know the greatness of his extraction, the better to conceal him. However it was, this young prince, with the succours of the Greeks, of the prince of Caramania, and of the despot of Servia, levied an army; and though he had never made a campaign before, advanced to attack his brother, and offered him battle, which he loses. Notwithstanding his defeat, he, by the assistance of his allies, levied new troops, and again advanced towards his brother, holding at the same time a secret correspondence with some persons in his army. Chasan aga of the Janizaries, and Ebrenex commander of the Spahi,

who had betrayed Musulman to serve Moses, now abandon this prince and go over to the army of Mahomet. The aga carried his rebellion and perfidiousness still farther; and before the two armies engaged, he advanced to the first ranks, endeavouring by seditious discourses to corrupt the Janizaries that were left in Moses's party. This prince, provoked at his impudence and treason, rode up to him, and with his scymitar in hand, aims at his head, but was prevented by Chasan's squire, who cut off his sword hand. This unlucky accident decided the victory and his life; his soldiers seeing him return into their ranks with but one hand, and all over bloody, interpreted his wound as a manifestation of his being proscribed by heaven; upon which they deserted him, and went to lay their standards and colours at the feet of Mahomet.

The victorious prince caused Moses, who was found hid in a marsh, to be strangled, becoming by his death assured of the crown, and of reigning without a competitor. The Turkish historians do not put Ysa or Joshua, Musulman, nor Moses, who reigned one after another, in the list of their emperors, but reckon all that passed from Bajazet's death till Mahomet I. as an interregnum. But all the Greek authors place these princes among the sultans; and as the history of the Ottomans makes part of that of the knights of St. John their perpetual enemies, we could not help giving a summary account of the civil wars which infested that new empire, till the advancement of Mahomet I. upon the throne of his ancestors. This prince enjoyed the sovereign authority peaceably during the eight years which he reigned, and was succeeded by Amurath II. his eldest son, one of the greatest princes of that

nation. The conquests of this prince blotted out the remembrance of those of Tamerlane, and restored the Ottoman empire to its former splendour. His arms were equally successful in Europe and in Asia. The Caramanian and other infidel princes of the East felt their fury, as well as the Albanians, Hungarians, and Transalpine Wallachians. He ravaged those great provinces, making most of the sovereigns tributaries to him, and would have extended his conquests still farther, had not a stop been put to them by Scanderbeg, the son of John Castriot king of Albania, on one side, and by John Huniades vaivod of Transylvania, and general of the troops of Hungary, on the other; both of them the greatest captains of their age, who, with an inconsiderable number of forces, but supported by an intrepid courage, and the most exquisite experience in war, checked the rapid progress of his arms.

He afterwards turned them against several princes that possessed places in the Morea, and in the isles of the Archipelago. All these petty sovereigns had recourse to the order of St. John, and engaged the bailiff of the Morea to go to Rhodes to implore the succour of the grand master. That prince, actuated by the spirit of his order, resolved, in concert with the council, to send some galleys into those seas, in order to discover the design of the infidels. But as they were preparing to put some troops on board, there came advice that the prince of Scanderoon or Alexandretta, in conjunction with other vassals of the grand seignior, was actually at sea, with a fleet composed of vessels of different bulk, and six galleys belonging to the lord of Scanderoon. The grand master readily suspected their design to be against Rhodes, or at least against the neighbouring isles

which depended on the order. This suspended the succours designed for the Morea. They fitted out all the galleys of the order and sailed in quest of the enemy's fleet: but the infidels avoided an engagement; and in order to make themselves amends for the expense of this armament, they took some merchants ships of Rhodes and Venice.

Whilst the knights and the Turks, equally animated against one another, were roving up and down the seas, ravaging the coasts, where they could make any descent, and labouring to surprise one another, there started up a new enemy to the order, who was almost as near Rhodes as the Turks, but more formidable, on account of his maritime forces, his fleets, and particularly from the skilfulness of his subjects in navigation, in which they excelled, especially since he began his reign. I speak of the famous sultan of Egypt, Alnazer al-Daher, a Circassian by birth, whom the Mamelukes had raised to the throne. They admitted none into that body, which was the strongest in Egypt, but foreign slaves; and these generally were young children, that had either been taken by the Tartars in their incursions, or else sold to them by their unnatural parents. The Egyptians bought all they could, and brought up these young men in exercises suitable to the profession they designed them for; and when they were able to bear arms, they incorporated them into the body of the Mamelukes. It was in this manner, that Daher, whom we are speaking of, was admitted into that body; and after many long years of service, and a great series of glorious actions and distinguished valour, was at last advanced to the sovereign power, which by the laws of that body could never devolve from father to son, or descend to his heirs.

Daher, in order to maintain himself in a dignity subject to frequent revolutions, from the inconstancy and seditious temper of the Mamalukes, and also to find employment for their courage, declared war against Janus of Lusignan, king of Cyprus. His fleet landed a considerable army in the island. The king immediately applied to the order for assistance: and though the knights were then at peace with the Saracens, the grand master and council could not see their arms so near the isle of Rhodes, without fearing some unhappy consequences to the order from that war. As the territories belonging to it were situated between those of the Turkish emperor and the sultan of Egypt, the council was always so politic as to maintain peace with one of those infidel princes, while it was engaged in war with the other. Agreeable to this maxim, they could have wished to have had no quarrel with the Saracens while they were at war with the Turks. The grand master, therefore, omitted nothing that could contribute to the bringing about a peace between the sultan of Egypt and the king of Cyprus; but as the Egyptian regulated his pretensions by his forces, he insisted that the king of Cyprus should acknowledge himself his vassal, and, as such, pay him and his successors an annual tribute; and should likewise reimburse him all the expence he had been at in that armament and expedition.

These conditions were too hard to be accepted; so that there was a necessity of deciding the dispute by arms. Acts of hostility were begun on both sides. The order, as an ally of the crown of Cyprus, sent considerable succours at different times. The war proved long and bloody. At last they came to a battle, the particulars of which we are unac-

quainted with. We only know, in general, that the Christians lost it, and that a great number of Cypriot lords and gentlemen, and several knights of St. John, were slain at the same time. The Saracens obtained a complete victory; and the king, to make the misfortune still greater, fell into the hands of the infidels, who carried him to Alexandria.

The grand master hearing this bad news, and fearing the infidels might seize on the whole island, sent over new succours of men and money, and gave secret assurances to the principal lords of the kingdom, that the order would never abandon them, provided they would not abandon themselves; and that they should nobly resolve to die sword in hand, rather than submit to the Mahometans. But those lords, divided among themselves, and effeminated by pleasures, not discovering any great courage or resolution, sent, by the grand master's advice, ambassadors to Egypt, to the sultan's court, to treat for the ransom of their sovereign. The negotiation was spun out to a great length. The sultan, in hopes that his troops would soon reduce the whole island, was every day starting new difficulties; but the Egyptian general soon found a stop put to the progress of his arms by the valour of his knights. By way of revenge, he ravaged the great commandry or bailliage which the order possessed in that island, demolishing the houses, cutting down the trees, and rooting up the vines; so that this great commandry, which was reckoned the richest of the order, was entirely ruined. The sultan, too, resolved to turn the efforts of his arms against the isle of Rhodes, hoping, that if he could make himself master of it, that of Cyprus, being left destitute of the succour of the knights, would, of course, fall

into his hands: and, as ambitious princes seldom set any bounds to their projects, the sultan flattered himself, that the conquest of the isle of Rhodes and Cyprus would pave the way to that of all the isles of the Archipelago; and that, after this, Asia Minor could never resist a power so formidable as his would then be. Full of such vast designs, the dangers and difficulties of which his ambition concealed from him, he again set the negotiation on foot with the ambassadors of Cyprus. His ministers set a price on the king's liberty, and demanded a hundred and twenty thousand florins in gold for his ransom. The prince rejected this proposal, not only because he looked on the sum as too extravagant, but also because he wanted money, his exchequer being quite exhausted by the war. But the grand master, who was afraid the Saracens should at last seize on the isle of Cyprus, advised him to get out of the hands of those barbarians at any rate; and the order, to facilitate his liberty, supplied him with the greatest part of his ransom. Peace was made on these conditions.

The sultan, to amuse the grand master, and under pretence of desiring to maintain a lasting peace with the order, renewed the treaty which his predecessor had made during the mastership of Naillae. But the grand master, who kept spies in Alexandria, and even in that prince's council, was soon informed of his most secret designs. To prevent being surprised by the barbarians, he immediately sent an account of it to pope Eugenius IV., and to most of the Christian princes, transmitting, at the same time, a general summons into all parts of the Christian world, with express injunctions to the priors, to send forthwith twenty-five knights or common-



ders out of each priory to Rhodes. But a much greater number of them arrived, whom zeal and courage had drawn thither; part of them were kept at Rhodes, and the rest distributed into the isles belonging to the order. Brother Hugh de Sarcus, grand prior of France, sent to the capital of the order a ship laden with cross-bows, arrow-heads, and other arms necessary for the defence of the place: the grand master took care to supply it with corn and all sorts of provisions: in fine, this worthy chief, by his vigilance and activity, put himself in so good a posture to receive the enemy, that the news of his armament soon passed into Egypt; and the sultan, flattering himself that the order could not long maintain so great a number of knights, thought fit to suspend his enterprise.

This great expence, however, having emptied the treasury of the order, the grand master, to fill it again, resolved to call a general chapter at Rhodes, as the custom was in those times: the priors generally brought to the chapters the responsions of the commandries that lay within their priories, with a list of those who had not discharged that obligation: and as it was impossible for the order to maintain so many different wars against the infidels without this supply, the chapter decreed severe penalties, against such as were negligent and refractory, endeavouring, at the same time, by new citations, to raise the necessary funds for the armaments of the order

It was with this design, and with a view of restoring regularity in discipline, that the grand master called the chapter at Rhodes, which was held there May 23, 1428, at which, among a great number of priors, bailiffs, and commanders, were

also brother John de Vivone, prior of Aquitain, and lieutenant to the grand master in the three languages of France; brother John de Ventadour, great commander; brother Anthony de St. Chaumand, marshal of the order; brother John de Lastic, prior of Auvergne; brother Gratian de la Tour, bailiff of the commerce of Rhodes, and several other old knights of different nations. The grand master opened the chapter with a discourse, in which he represented the unavoidable expences the order had been obliged to put themselves to, in defending the island of Cyprus, and in guarding against the sultan's ill designs, the consequences of which were always to be feared; that Rhodes, and the islands which depended on it, if they did not keep up a sufficient body of forces, could never be secured from the attempts of Amurath; and that the order supported itself only by the jealousy that was fomented between the Turks and Saracens, two formidable powers, which it would be hard to reist, if, from a zeal for a religion that was common to both, they should join their forces against the order; that in this situation nothing came into the treasury out of the priories of France, the commandries of which had been ruined in the war carried on by the English in that kingdom; that Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, being harassed by the Hussites, did not furnish any quota to the order; that Poland being engaged in war against the Teutonic knights, scarcely kept up any correspondence with Rhodes; and that it was the business of the chapter, by some wise regulations, to re-establish, as near as possible, the responsions on the old footing, which those several nations seemed entirely to have forgot.

The chapter, out of regard to these just remon-

strances, and to make up the fund of the responsibilities of France, granted leave to alienate several lands belonging to the commandries of the order to secular persons, for whom they lay convenient, provided always that such alienations were made only for life, and at a certain rate. With the same view, by the next statute, they erected a new dignity in the language of Germany, that of great bailiff, and annexed to it an inspection and authority over all the priories and commandries lying in Germany, particularly in Bohemia and the adjoining provinces, where the Hussites had made cruel ravages ever since the execution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague at the council of Constance. To the authority and functions of grand bailiff of Germany, they annexed, likewise, the inspection over the governor and castle of St. Peter, a strong place in Cavia, built, as we have observed, near or upon the foundations of the old city of Halicarnassus, and serving for a bulwark to the isle of Rhodes on the side of Asia Minor and the main land. The great bailiff was to visit this place every year, either in person or by his lieutenant; he was empowered, by his commission, to review the garrison; to break useless soldiers; to fill up their places with others more capable of serving; in a word, every thing that concerned the defence of that castle and its territory was put under his jurisdiction, except only the household and officers of the governor, and some soldiers, who, after the taking of Smyrna by the Mogul Tartars, had thrown themselves into the sea, and swimming to the ships of the order that lay at anchor, escaped the fury of those barbarians. The order, by way of recompence for their valour, had assigned them this place as a retirement for the

rest of their lives, where they were taken care of, and maintained at the public expence. The chapter had afterwards given the island of Nizarro to brother Fantin Quintic, prior of Rome, by an infeofment, on condition of paying an annual rent of six hundred florins in gold to the public treasury; of maintaining there, at his own expence, a garrison necessary for its defence; and of giving subsistence to two knights and a serving-brother. It was then the custom, in all the priories of the order, that when they admitted a young knight, they assigned him, at the same time, a commandry for his residence, the commander whereof was to subsist and maintain him, and bring him up in the spirit of the order, till such time as he was qualified to go to Rhodes.

By this wise regulation, the practice of which it were to be wished might be restored, no young knights were to be seen wandering in cities and provinces, and often without having any thing of religious about them but the cross of the order, which some still wear rather as a badge of distinction that flatters their vanity, than as a mark of the obligations they have entered into before the altar, of leading a holy and regular life.

Be that as it will, at present we find in the annals of the order, that the commander of Cagnac desired to be excused from receiving into his house a young knight, called brother William de Riery, who had been assigned the commandry of Cagnac for his residence; the commander, whether he pretended that his house was too full of pupils, or that it was the turn of the commander of St. Sulpice, sent him to him. The latter refused to receive him, and complained to the grand master, who, being very

angry with the commander of Cagnac, threatened to deprive him of his habit and commandry, if he neglected to provide for the young knight, whom the order had committed to his care; a circumstance which I should not have taken notice of, had it not served to show, that in the middle of the fifteenth age, near four hundred years after the first institution of the order, all the commandries of it were like so many seminaries and academies, where the knights were alike educated in piety and the exercise of arms, two qualities which, though they happen not to meet together in secular persons, may, nevertheless, form great men in each particular kind, but which ought to be ever united in a knight of the order of St. John.

It was from the same spirit of regularity, and to keep the knights more closely to their residence, that the grand master forbade them, by an express bull, to go to Rome, and settle in the pope's court, without his permission, or that of the procurator-general of the order. He made this wise regulation, in order to check the restless and ambitious humour of some knights, who, the sooner to possess themselves of the commandries and principal dignities, instead of meriting them by their services, sought to obtain them by recommendation from the pope or his cardinals, who had the greatest hand in the government of the church. Thus it was that the grand master, in the interval which the truce made with the sultan of Egypt allowed him, employed his authority to maintain a regularity of discipline among his religious. To make their abode in the isle and convent of Rhodes more convenient, he built a magnificent infirmary upon the foundations of the old one, endowing it at his own expence,

According to the spirit and constant practice of the order, such knights as were sick or wounded, were visited and taken care of there with all the regard and attention due to noble personages that represented the conquerors of the isle, and were every day defending the possession and sovereignty of it at the expence of their blood.

In the practice of these peaceful virtues did the grand master, Anthony Fluvian or de la Riviere, end his days, A. D. 1437. He saw the approaches of death with great piety; and, desiring to die as he had always lived, a true religious, he disposed of all his effects, and sent two hundred thousand ducats into the treasury, the fruit of his thriftiness and retrenchments from that magnificence, which luxury and vanity at that time required of such as filled the first dignities in the church.

The chapter assembled immediately to elect a successor, and the members of it had recourse to arbitration: they first made choice of thirteen knights, to whom the chapter referred the right of election. These thirteen electors prepared themselves by receiving the sacraments of penance and the holy eucharist: they afterwards shut themselves up in a room distinct from the chapter-house, and after a careful examination of the merit of the several candidates, of their personal qualities, and especially of those which were most proper for government, they unanimously gave their votes in favour of brother John de Lastic, grand prior of Auvergne, who was acknowledged in form by all the chapter as grand master of the order. As that lord was then at his priory, they immediately dispatched two grand crosses to carry him the instrument of his election; but, before these deputies left

Rhodes, the convent made them take an oath, that they would not ask any favour, before he had taken possession of his dignity, that might be to the prejudice of the senior knights of the order.

The grand master, upon the news of his election, made the best of his way for Rhodes. As soon as he arrived there, he received advice from the spies which the order kept in Egypt, that secret designs were forming in that kingdom against the isle of Rhodes, and what was still worse, these spies informed him, that they suspected that Amurath II. emperor of the Turks, approved this enterprize, or at least would not oppose it.

The emulation and jealousy between those two neighbouring powers had served hitherto as a kind of succour to the order; but Amurath, being uneasy at the league made against him by the Christian princes, was well enough satisfied that the sultan of Egypt should at this juncture find employment for all the forces of the knights. However, as they were not yet fully acquainted with that prince's intentions, the grand master sent brother John Merel, prior of the church, to him, as his ambassador, under pretence of notifying his election to him, and to demand of him a renewal of the truce, which the order had made with his predecessor. It was a common practice in the order, and which the pope had authorised, for the knights to make a truce with one party of infidels, at the same time they were opposing another. The prior of Rhodes executed his commission with great skill and address. The grand seignior returned the civilities paid him in the new grand master's name, with other compliments, but expressed in general terms that carried no meaning with them; declining at

the same time to enter into any negociation, under pretence that the old treaties were sufficient for the security of both sides. The prior returned to Rhodes; and acquainted the grand master, that though war was not declared, yet peace was not the more to be depended on. The grand master, in order to discover, if possible; the designs of the infidels, sent William de Lastic, his nephew, seneschal of the order, with two vessels, towards the coasts of Egypt and Barbary. This knight was not long before he returned to Rhodes, and acquainted the grand master that he would be immediately attacked by all the forces of Egypt. The certainty of war made the knights arm without loss of time; they fitted out eight galleys, four ships with high decks, and several transport vessels, putting a considerable body of troops on board of them, working at the same time in the isle of Rhodes, and those adjacent to it, in order to put the principal places in a condition of defence.

The sultan on his side put to sea a considerable fleet, consisting of eighteen galleys, a great number of vessels of different bulk, well provided with arms, and loaded with a considerable body of cross-bow-men and land forces. But to give some colour to this armament, the sultan pretended, that the isle of Rhodes, as well as that of Cyprus, depended formerly on the empire of Egypt. The first attempt made by his forces, was upon a little island called Chateau-roux, situated a hundred miles to the east of the isle of Rhodes, and only a mile, or at most a French league, from Lycia. This isle, or rather this rock, belonged to the order, who had fortified it with a castle, over the gate of which the arms of the order of St. John, and those of Arrogan, were



quartered; a circumstance which might incline us to believe that it was the language of that nation which had fortified this little place.

The Saracens met with little opposition in making their descent, and in all probability seized on this little castle with the like ease; at least there is no passage in history that takes notice of any considerable combat that happened; they re-embarked after having destroyed this settlement, sailed for Rhodes, and appeared off the island on September 25, 1440.

The inhabitants emulating the example and care of the grand master, and his knights, had taken arms, and lining the coasts, appeared resolute to oppose the infidels, if they should offer to make a descent. The marshal of the order, who, by virtue of that post, had the command of the fleet, sailed out of the port in good order, and though he was much inferior to the enemy in number of ships, yet he advanced boldly and offered them battle. The infidels, who imagined that all the ships of the order were out cruising, were surprised to see this armament, and retired into a bay, where turning the poops of their ships towards the land, they contented themselves with making a great fire with their artillery, to keep the Christians at a distance. They were answered in the same manner; the rest of the day passed in cannonading one another, and night coming on, the Christian fleet put into the port of Rhodes, the commander of it designing, after he had taken in some powder and fresh troops, to return immediately in quest of the enemy: but the Saracens seeing that it was impracticable to attack Rhodes in sight of the Christian fleet, set sail in the night. Their design was to surprise the isle of

Lango. The marshal, whose experience supplied the place of spies, guessing at their design, put to sea at the same time, and crowding all the sail he could, and his men plying their oars, he advanced with great expedition under the cannon of the castle of Lango, so that the Saracens, when they came up, were strangely surprised to find him in their front, drawn up in order of battle, and offering to fight them a second time.

The Egyptian admiral, astonished at this, tacked about to avoid an engagement, and got to an island which belonged to the Turks; and entering into the harbour, which seemed in a manner abandoned, he joined his galleys to one another, with their prows towards the sea, and erected batteries upon them, to repulse the knights if they should offer to attack him; and the Turks, who inhabited the island, knowing Amurath's intentions, and influenced likewise by the religion which they professed in common with the Saracens, ran to their succour against the Christians.

The marshal, who had followed the Egyptian fleet, without losing sight of it, seeing it so well fortified, called a council of war. Most of the officers, in order to dissuade him from attacking the infidels, represented to him their number and forces, which were much superior to those of the order; and besides, there was a bad bottom in that place, it being filled with a quicksand that was very dangerous. They were all for returning to Rhodes; but the marshal, who did not know what danger was, told them that the knights of St. John were never used to count the number of their enemies, and that he would sooner choose to meet with a grave in the sea, than lie under the reproach of see-

ing the barbarians so near him, without daring to attack them. But as his capacity was not inferior to his valour, he put his troops on board flat-bottomed vessels, and advancing at their head, being covered at the same time by his artillery, he attacked the Saracens, who received him with a smart fire from their cannons and muskets. If the attack was brisk, the defence was equally as brave, and the Saracens, supported by the Turks, exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to hinder the Christians from approaching their galleys. Night coming on parted the combatants; the infidels lost above seven hundred men on this occasion, and on the Christians' side they did not compute above sixty. The marshal, covered with the blood of his enemies, and wounded in five places, made for Rhodes, upon some signs of a storm. The infidels took advantage of his retreat, to get out of those seas in the night time, and came first off the isle of Cyprus: there they made a descent, and set fire to the great commandry of the order, which was all the advantage the sultan had from an armament and expedition which had put him to a considerable expense.

This ill success served only to exasperate him; he dissembled however his resentment, and the designs he had in view, in order to have an opportunity of falling upon them with a greater force. But the grand master was not imposed upon; new fortifications were by his orders added to the city of Rhodes, and he supplied the magazines with ammunition and provisions. The first instances of his care were followed with a general citation, summoning all the knights able to bear arms to repair to the convent; and the prince granted at the same time a general pardon to all exiles and criminals,

excepting such as were guilty of high treason, and incendiaries. He carried his views farther, and sent ambassadors to most of the crowns of Europe to solicit succours. These ambassadors did not fail to lay before those sovereigns the power and forces of the sultan of Egypt, and to represent that that infidel prince was ready to lay siege to Rhodes; and that if they should abandon the order at this juncture, all that the knights could expect, after a long defence, would be to bury themselves under the ruins of the place; but that the Christian princes would lie under an eternal reproach, should they suffer the ruin of an island and a state, that served for a bulwark to Christendom, and which, by its lying so near to the Holy Land, might facilitate the conquest of it. The princes, to whom these ambassadors were sent, made no other return to all these just remonstrances, than by employing a few empty expressions of useless compassion. Most of them, detained by wars with their neighbours, did not think it proper to leave their dominions in such a juncture: besides, the first fire of devotion, which had produced so many crusades, was now in a manner spent; and a great many looked upon these transports of piety, either as a result of a mistaken and irregular zeal, or perhaps as one of those springs which politicians set a-going, in order to send away those princes and great men whom they thought too potent, and too jealous of the privileges of their dignity, at a distance from their country, and keep them there on a pretence of devotion.

Be that as it will, the order obtained no succours from the Christian princes in this juncture. John Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, was the only one that made a league offensive and defensive with

them against the sultan of Egypt; but this league produced only a treaty that had no manner of consequence. Of all those vast dominions, that had belonged formerly to the empire of the great Constantine, nothing was then left to Paleologus but the city of Constantinople, with its adjoining territory. The Turks kept that prince blocked up as it were on all sides; so that out of regard to his own preservation, and for fear of seeing himself speedily besieged, he durst not part with the succours which he had stipulated to send to Rhodes. This insignificant treaty was followed by another made with the sultan of Egypt himself, which indeed seemed to be more advantageous; but that prince, who was an excellent politician, concluded it only with a design of amusing the grand master.

Sir Francis Quirini, a noble Venetian, bailiff of Lango, and great admiral of the order, held the island of Nizarro of it by way of fief, and was obliged to take the care of defending these two isles. The sultan, apprehending that if he should make his attack on that side, Quirini's relations, who had a strong interest in the senate, might prevail with the republic to send troops to the assistance of the order, notified to him, that out of regard to his nation, with which he had always lived in good correspondence, he would readily agree to a treaty of neutrality for the islands, which were under his government. Quirini communicated these propositions to the grand master, and council of the order; some fed themselves with hopes that this private treaty might be improved to a more general one, and perhaps to the re-establishment of peace: but the most skilful were of a different opinion, judging that the sole motive of the sultan's offering this neutrality,

was only to prevent a rupture with the Venetians, who alone enjoyed the commerce of Alexandria; and with a supposition, that if he could once make himself master of Rhodes, the neighbouring isles, which depended on it, would follow the fate of the capital, and fall of course into his hands. However, as the order would, by this treaty, be discharged from the care and expense of maintaining troops in those two islands, they told the bailiff he might conclude it, provided it was drawn up in terms suitable to the sovereignty of the order.

The sultan, from a motive that was very near of the same nature of that above-mentioned, agreed with the king of Cyprus on the like neutrality, for the vessels of Rhodes and Egypt that should put into the ports of his kingdom. Yet in the midst of these preliminary treaties, which seemed to usher in peace, or at least a long truce, a considerable fleet of the sultan's was seen off the isle of Rhodes, in August, A. D. 1444, which landed eighteen thousand foot, besides a strong body of horse and Mamelukes, in which the principal strength of the Egyptians consisted. These barbarians, without sitting down before any other place in the island, marched directly to the capital, which they besieged, at the same time that their fleet lay off at sea, in order to block up the port.

The reader may justly expect to meet in this place with an exact relation of this siege, with the particulars of the sallies made by the knights, the storms, which they opposed, and the killed and wounded on both sides; but these knights knew much better how to handle their swords than their pens. The little learning at that time in the order, and indeed in that age, has deprived us of so curious

and so important a relation: all that is to be found in the registers of the chancery, is, that the siege lasted forty days; that the infidels battered down the place with a great train of artillery: that there were several assaults given, in which they were always repulsed; and that their general, having lost the best part of his troops, re-embarked with the remainder, and was the first that carried to his master the news of the ill success of his arms.

The grand master, wisely judging that it would not be long before the infidels would make him another visit under the walls of Rhodes, dispatched William de Lastic his nephew into the West, to give the pope and most of the Christian princes an account of the advantages lately gained by the order over the Saracens. He took this step in hopes of obtaining some succour: and that sovereigns, like other men, would declare themselves more freely for the victorious party. In fact, as soon as they heard in Europe that the knights had drove the infidels out of their isle, abundance of the young nobility of Europe, particularly the gentlemen of the kingdoms of France and Spain, fond of sharing in the glory of the order, were very eager to be admitted into it. This was a very seasonable recruit, and helped to fill up the forces of the order, which had been much diminished by losses, which are inseparable from war. But this, at the same time, was an additional expense to the convent: and in order to make a provision for it, the grand master called a general chapter at Rhodes, which was to assemble July 25, 1445.

Whilst this assembly was sitting, the grand master received an account from the seneschal his nephew, that he had gone through most of the courts of Eu-

hope, but found the princes so exasperated against one another, and so universally engaged in war, that there were no hopes of any great succour. The grand master and the chapter saw plainly by these letters, that they must rely upon their own strength; whereupon, by common consent, they increased the responsions for five years. By the same statute, the priors were forbid to receive a greater number than the order could maintain; and they agreed that the grand master should be empowered to put an end to this destructive war, by a peace, if they made him any overtures of it. The treaty was carried on the year following by the agency of James Cœur, a French merchant, who was afterwards treasurer to Charles VII. king of France. He was a citizen of the town of Bourges, a man of *petite generation*,\* as a historian of the times expresses it, to show that he was born of parents that were not noble. But the defect of birth, if it really be a defect, was abundantly repaired by the greatness of his genius, by his industry and his application. France never gave birth to a merchant who extended its commerce so far, and made such prodigious profits: he had whole fleets at his command, and above three hundred factors dispersed in several countries of Europe and Asia, and even as far as *Sarrasiname*, as the author above-mentioned expresses it. It was one of these factors, who, in virtue of the safe conduits which he had for his commerce, conducted the agent of the order to Alexandria on board his master's galleys. A peace was made, but all that we know of the conditions of the treaty is, that the envoy of Rhodes, after it was concluded, brought back with him into

\* Histoire de Charles VII. Roy de France, par Mat. de Coucy, p. 691. edit. de Louvre.



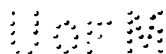
the island a great number of Christian slaves and prisoners that had been taken during the war. A bull of the grand master's, bearing date Feb. 8, A. D. 1446, is still preserved in the treasury of the order, in which he orders brother Raimond d'Arpajon, grand prior of St. Giles, and the receiver of the language of Provence, to pay James Cœur what was due to him for this voyage.

The grand master's joy in having procured so many poor Christians their liberty, was a little damped by the concern that some letters sent from Pope Nicholas V. gave him, A. D. 1448. There were some commanders at Rome, and at the pontiff's court, who were uneasy at the responsions of their commandries being increased; they complained to the pope of it, as if it had been a tyrannical imposition, and as if the grand master and the chapter had exceeded the bounds set to their authority by the statutes. Nicholas V. being prejudiced against the grand master, and without examining whether there was any misrepresentation in these complaints, wrote in harsh terms to Lastic, sending him at the same time a collection of the statutes made in the last chapter, which he supposed had been transgressed, and which he ordered him to observe as the rule of his conduct.

The grand master laid the pope's letters before the council, and made an answer in terms which indeed were very respectful; but at the same time full of that resolution which truth and justice always inspire. He represented to that pontiff, that pope Eugenius IV. his predecessor, after having examined the accounts of the expense the order had been at in sustaining the siege of Rhodes, had approved the augmentation of the responsions, in order

to pay off the debts it had been obliged to contract during the war; that such as made their complaints on this article were unworthy to wear the habit, fellows, says he, that never saw Rhodes, or else made no stay there, and with a design only of getting rid of the regular discipline, or probably to keep out of the way of dangers that are usual in war, especially in a bloody siege; that most of those religious, instead of residing upon their commandries, which they were obliged to do, and exercising the duties of hospitality, had entirely devoted themselves to the court of Rome, where they passed their lives in luxury and pleasure; that he besought his holiness to send them back immediately to the convent, to live in the chief house of their order, and to learn from the example of their brother companions, the life a true knight of St. John ought to lead. As to the statutes, which his holiness had sent to him, they agreed in council, after having exactly compared them with the originals, that it could be the work only of some forger of writings, who had inserted several articles that were never heard of before in the order, and which were invented only to encourage the spirit of appropriation and libertinism in those profligate knights.

The indignation which the grand master discovered against those mutineers was the better founded, as they lived under his government at Rhodes, in an exact observance of their rule and statutes; that in the very heat of the armaments which were frequently making, the knights never neglected to keep a strict fast during Advent and Lent; that they abstained from meat every Wednesday in the year; and that in the refectory, and all other regular places, none durst interrupt a silence, which in



that place was observed as regularly as in a community of monks and hermits. The grand master's letter, drawn up in form of an apology, was signed by the whole council, and the pope seemed satisfied with it.

But several of the European commanders, who were supported by the protection of some cardinals, and had also powerful friends in the order, and in the very council, were not more exact in paying their responsions: so that one would have thought, that they pretended to free themselves from their vow of obedience. The order, by their rebellion, fell insensibly into a kind of anarchy: several chapters, and various assemblies were held on this account, in which very wholesome regulations were made, but disobedience, power, credit and cabal, rendered them entirely ineffectual.

The council seeing the authority of the government slighted, could not think of a more proper remedy, in order to put a stop to so great a disorder, than by putting the sovereign authority, and the entire disposal of the revenue, into the hands of the grand master only. This was a sort of dictatorship, which is always dangerous in a republican state; but they were so persuaded of the zeal of Lastic, of his sincere piety, and of his moderation, that they made no difficulty of entrusting him with absolute authority. He excused himself at first from accepting it, on account of his great age, and fearful of breaking in on the ancient constitution of the order, of which he was a zealous observer; he could not be brought to comply with the pressing solicitations of his religious, but on condition that this alteration in the government should last only for three years, at the expiration of which term the supreme council should resume its ancient authority.

The wisdom and resolution of his conduct soon justified the choice the order had made: by virtue of the regulations made in the last chapter, he threatened openly to deprive all those of their commandries, and even to degrade them from the order, who did not, by a stated time, pay in their responsibilities. These menaces from a sovereign and a superior, whom they knew incapable of being moved by any recommendation, intimidated the most rebellious. They all gave security for their obedience, till such time as they should meet with an opportunity of remitting money to Rhodes; all bowed and submitted before the authority of so worthy a head, armed with so just an authority.

But as funds in the beginning were wanting, in order to pay the debts, and provide for the indispensable necessities of the order, he took them up on the revenues appropriated to the mastership. The first use that he made of his new authority was, to strip himself; and, like a true father, sacrificed with pleasure the great revenues annexed to his dignity, for the maintenance of his children, and the subsistence of the troops which the order kept in the several islands which then composed its dominions. However, that they might not abuse his clemency, he ordered all such commanders as resided at Rhodes, and received the value of a hundred crowns of gold revenue from their commandries, not to receive any thing more out of the treasury of the order for their subsistence.

This regulation of domestic discipline was succeeded by more important concerns. As in the disorder that the revenue was in, they had reason to fear a rupture with the Turks, who were never very scrupulous in observing treaties, the grand master

sent ambassadors to Amurath II., to discover how that prince was disposed with respect to the order. We have seen, during the war which the sultan of Egypt was making in the isle of Rhodes, how Amurath, that he might take his measures according as events should happen, put off the grand master's proposal of renewing the ancient treaties of peace. The new ambassadors of the order found him more compliant at this juncture; that prince had enough to do to defend himself against a formidable league of Christian princes, into which the king of Hungary, the famous John Huniades, vaivod of Transilvania, the Wallachians, Scander-beg, king of Albania, and even Usum-Cassan, king of Persia, had entered. But of all his enemies, none was so terrible to him as the king or prince of Albania.

Albania, a province of Europe, is situated along the Gulf of Venice; it has on the east Macedonia, of which it was formerly a part, Epirus on the south, and on the north Servia and a corner of Dalmatia. Some high mountains divide it from Epirus; and mountains, marshes, craggy rocks, and narrow passes, make it impassable for troops unacquainted with the country. This advantageous situation, with the courage and ferocity of those mountaineers, made them terrible to their neighbours, especially to the Turks. Amurath undertook to subdue them. John Castriot, who then reigned in this country, defended himself for a long time with great courage, but was forced at last to yield to forces superior to those of his little state, and to save the remains of his fortune, entered into a treaty with the Turkish prince; as a pledge of his subjection, he was obliged to give him his three sons, Constantine, George and John, in hostage. Amurath,

without any regard to the faith of this treaty, ordered them to be circumcised and instructed in the Mahometan law; and the father of these three unfortunate princes, hearing of their misfortunes, died of grief. Amurath, under pretence of securing the principality to the children of the above-mentioned Albanian prince, seized on it, and put garrisons into all the strong places.

It is not known what became of the two eldest sons of John Castriot. Most historians accuse Amurath of poisoning them; others say that he only put out their eyes, and incapacitated them from ever having any heirs. The like fate was designed for the third; but they say Amurath was so charmed with his agreeable mien, and a certain air of grandeur that discovered itself already in that young prince, that he exempted him from those punishments, and ordered him to be carefully brought up in the Mahometan religion, and in all the exercises proper for a soldier.

As soon as he was able to bear arms, Amurath took him with him into the field; and, in his very first campaign, he performed actions of such surprising valour, that the grand seignior, by way of allusion to the name of a great king of Macedonia, would have him called Scander-beg, that is, lord Alexander. All the succeeding part of his life corresponded with this favourable beginning: whether he was engaged in duels, or single combats which he undertook against adventurers, who challenged him at the head of armies, or else in general battles, he always gained the honour of the day. He soon became the favourite of Amurath, and afterwards one of his generals; but the remembrance of Albania, which the young prince considered as his inher-

ritance, and a secret uneasiness to see himself engaged in a religion different from that of his ancestors, affected him more than all the sultan's favour; so that he resolved, at any rate, to recover his dominions, and return to the Christian religion.

Scander-beg being fixed in this design, took the opportunity when Amurath's secretary was in the country. He went to him, drew him aside, and having forced him to draw up letters patent, directed to the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, by which he was ordered to deliver up the government of that place to Scander-beg, he immediately stabbed that minister, slew all his train, and advanced with all possible diligence to the gates of Croia. He was received into the capital of Albania with all the respect due to the orders he brought; but, in the night, letting in three hundred men, which he had caused to advance and post themselves privately near the gates of the city, he put the Turkish governor and all the garrison to the sword; and, without losing time, reduced the entire of Albania. Most of the Christian princes, his neighbours, sent to congratulate him on his good success; and the Venetians, who looked upon his dominions as a barrier to the republic, supplied him with considerable sums to levy troops.

There was no want of soldiers: the Albanians, a warlike people, offered themselves in crowds to take the field; but of this great number, which would have formed a considerable army, he chose only eight thousand foot and seven thousand horse. With this small body of troops, and the advantage of the mountains and narrow passes, with which the country abounded, he defeated four great armies of the Turks; the first commanded by Ali, the second by

Feris-beg, and the two others by Mustapha Basha. Passa or Pacha, as different authors style him, Amurath, ascribing these great losses to want of courage or capacity in his generals, resolved to command his troops in person: he marched at the head of a formidable army to attack Scander-beg, and indeed carried some places; but the taking of them cost him more soldiers than the loss of a battle would have done. He was attended in this expedition by young Mahomet, his son, whose valour, courage and resolution, as much as his birth, had induced him to make him his partner in the empire; intending to show his troops, at the same time, the capacity of an old captain, and the ardour and fire of a young conqueror.

In the second campaign the two sultans prepared to form the siege of Croia, the capital of Albania; but before they undertook it, that they might not be disturbed in the execution of their designs, they made a treaty of peace with the Venetians, in which it was expressly stipulated, that the republic should hold no correspondence with the prince of Albania. From the same motive, and in order to secure himself against all apprehensions from the fleets of the order, Amurath renewed with the grand master the treaties of peace which he had made with his predecessor.

The siege of Croia proved unfortunate to the Turks; Amurath, after seeing part of his army destroyed by the sudden attacks of Scander-beg, who kept the field, was obliged to raise it. The prince of Albania pursued him, and cut to pieces the best part of his rear. Amurath, fretting at the ill success of the campaign, and worn out with the infirmities of age, fell sick. He was carried to Adrianople,



where he ended his days, after a lingering illness of five or six months. This sultan was regretted by his subjects, and even by the Christians, when they came to compare his reign and conduct with that of his successor, one of the greatest conquerors that Europe and Asia ever saw, but at the same time of a cruel, perfidious, and bloody nature, and whose actions revived the hateful remembrance of the most inhuman tyrant.

The necessary connection of his history with that which I write, and the sanguinary wars that he made upon the order of St. John, oblige me to give a more particular account of one of its greatest enemies. He was a young prince, hardly twenty-one years old, whom nature and fortune conspired, in conjunction with an extraordinary valour, to make the terror of the world. His ambition was greater than his birth, and the empire to which he was born. He had very superior talents, immense views, an admirable genius for distributing, on proper occasions, the execution of his projects; was always attentive, always present to events, and never lost sight of the disposition and forces of his enemies: his thirst after glory and pleasure was insatiable, and he abandoned himself to those abominable sensualities, which nature cannot think of without horror; he had no honour, no humanity, no religion; and esteemed the Alcoran as little as he did the Gospel: according to his principles there were but two divinities that deserved to be worshipped by men, fortune and valour.

Such was Mahomet II., who affected the title of Al-Biuch, or Mahomet the Great, a title which posterity has continued to him. He was worthy of it, if we judge of him only by his conquests; but in

monarchs there are virtues, which ought to take place of valour; and a prince cannot be truly great without piety and justice, virtues which Mahomet had no notion of, or at least thought the practice of them fit only for private men.

Yet no sooner was the death of Amurath, and the advancement of Mahomet II. upon the Ottoman throne, made public, but the ambassadors of the emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond, and most of the Grecian and Eastern princes, crowded to the Porte. The grand master sent brother Peter Zinot thither, in the name of the order. All these ministers, after making the usual compliments, pressed for a confirmation of the old alliances between the princes their masters and the Ottoman house. Mahomet, whether dazzled with the charms of absolute power, or that he had a mind to lull the ambassadors into security, received them with an affected satisfaction, and readily renewed the treaties which they desired to have confirmed. But as the conquest of Constantinople was the first aim of his ambition, he employed all the next year in making the necessary preparations for so great an enterprise, and in securing all the avenues that led to that capital of the East, to prevent the throwing in of any succours that the Greek emperor might obtain, either on the land side, or by the way of Pontus Euxinus, or the Black Sea.

With this view he caused a fort to be erected on the European side of the Bosphorus. The emperor Constantine, alarmed at this step, dispatched ambassadors to him, to complain of it as an infraction of the treaties of peace so lately renewed between them. Mahomet answered them with seeming moderation, that he had only raised that fort to oppose

the incursions of the knights of Rhodes, who were as much enemies to the Greeks as to the Turks, and to secure the subjects of both empires against the inroads of the Latins. But the ambassadors offering to insist on the fidelity, with which the order observed its treaties, Mahomet, transported by the violence of his temper, ordered them to be silent, and swore, " That the first that should dare to speak a word more to him on that subject, he would cause him to be flayed alive."

After this declaration he ordered his troops to advance and invest the capital of the Greek empire; and they began to form one of the most remarkable sieges mentioned in all the history of the lower empire. The sultan arrived in the camp on the 2d of April. They say, that there was at least three hundred thousand men in his army, without reckoning a large fleet, consisting of two hundred and fifty vessels of different bulks, which had twenty-four thousand men on board. All the force that they could muster up in Constantinople, to oppose such formidable forces, hardly amounted to six thousand Greeks under arms, and about three thousand men, consisting of foreign troops and volunteers, which may well appear surprising, considering the greatness of the city, and the prodigious number of its inhabitants. But these were none of the old Greeks, so renowned in antiquity for their valor, and the love of their country; all their genius was now turned entirely to commerce: Constantinople was scarcely filled with any thing but merchants, without reckoning a large number of calojers and monks, most of them covetous wretches, who, rather than assist their sovereign, buried their money in private places; so that it is no great wonder, if

Constantine, destitute of troops and succours, could not hold out long against the efforts of the infidels. Notwithstanding all the resistance of the besieged, the city was taken by storm the forty-second day of the siege. The emperor chose rather to be killed in defending his religion and his crown, than to fall alive into the hands of the infidels.

Perhaps there never was seen a more melancholy spectacle than what passed at the taking of this city. Above forty thousand were put to the sword, and sixty thousand sold for slaves; nothing escaped the fury and avarice of the soldiery. The women detested the fruitfulness which had made them mothers, and lamented bitterly the fate of the young children which they carried in their arms. Here a numberless multitude of young maidens was to be seen, fearful, and faltering in their pace, who, not knowing where to go, wandered like poor strangers, in the very bosom of their country; and, while they were in quest of their parents, fell into an abyss of misfortunes, and into the hands of barbarians, from whom they suffered a treatment more shocking than the most cruel executions. Their tears and cries, which reached the heavens, could not move the heart of the insolent vanquisher; and the meanest of the Turks had an accomplished beauty for his prey, though often taken from him by another Turk, either stronger than himself, or of greater authority in the army. Most of those barbarians set their prisoners to sale, but the men of quality, the princes and officers, who were taken in arms, were executed by the sultan's orders; none escaped his cruelty but the handsomest young persons of both sexes, whom he reserved for the abominations of his seraglio.

It was thus that a young Greek lady of noble

birth, called Irene, hardly seventeen years old, fell into his hands. A basha had just made her his slave, but being struck with her exquisite beauty, thought her a present worthy of the sultan. The East had never before given birth to so charming a creature; her charms were irresistible, and triumphed over the savage heart of Mahomet; rough as he was, he was forced to yield; he abandoned himself entirely to this new passion; and, in order to have fewer avocations from his amorous assiduities, he passed several days without permitting his ministers and the principal officers of his army to see him. Irene followed him afterwards to Adrianople: it was here he fixed the residence of the young Greek. As for himself, on whatever side war might oblige him to go, he would often, in the midst of the most important expeditions, leave the conduct of them to his generals, and hurry away to return to Irene.

It was not long before it was visible that war was no longer his reigning passion; the soldiers, who were inured to plunder, and used to find booty in following him, murmured at this change. These murmurs spread and became epidemical; the officers as well as the soldiers complained of his effeminate life; yet his wrath was so terrible, that no one durst undertake to speak to him on that subject. At last, as the discontents of the soldiery were just going to break out, Mustapha basha, having regard only to the fidelity which he owed his master, was the first that gave him notice of the discourses which the janizaries held publicly to the prejudice of his glory. The sultan continued for some time in a sullen and deep silence, as if he was considering what resolution he should take, and only answered, by ordering him, under the pretence of a review, to

summon the bashas to assemble the next day, with all his guards, and the troops that were posted about the city; after which he went into the apartment of Irene, and stayed with her till the following day.

Never did that young princess appear so charming in his eyes; never had the prince given her such tender marks of his love before: and in order, if possible, to bestow a new lustre on her beauty, he desired her women to exert all their art and skill in dressing her. When she was thus adjusted to appear in public, he took her by the hand, and led her into the middle of the assembly, when throwing aside the veil which covered her face, he demanded haughtily of the bashas that stood round him, if they had ever seen such a beauty? All the officers, like good courtiers, were lavish of their praises, and congratulated him on his happiness. Upon which, Mahomet, taking the fair Greek by the hair with one hand, and drawing his scymitar with the other, cut off her head at one stroke, then turning to the grandees of the court, "This sword," says he, with a wild and furious air, "can, when I please, cut asunder the bonds of love."

The whole assembly was seized with horror, and shuddered at the sight: the dread they were seized with, of being treated in the same manner, made the most cautious tremble: every one thought he saw the fatal scymitar lifted over his own head; but if they escaped his blood-thirsty temper at that moment, it was only to execute his vengeance the better. Mustapha, as a reward of his faithful advice, was first sacrificed, and that on a slight pretence; he caused him to be strangled in the seraglio; and in the long wars in which he was afterwards engaged, and which lasted as long as his reign, he

had the cruel pleasure of dispatching most of the janizaries one after another, who, by their seditious cries, had interrupted his pleasures, and awakened his fury.

This prince had scarcely been six months in possession of Constantinople, when, imagining that all the princes of Asia ought to submit to his power, he began with the knights of Rhodes; his demands upon them sufficiently declaring his pretensions. He sent an ambassador, or rather a herald, to the grand master, summoning him to own him for his sovereign, and send into his treasury a yearly tribute of 2000 ducats. Upon his refusal, the ambassador had orders to denounce war against him, and declare, that the sultan, his master, was resolved in person to fall upon all the isles of the order with his invincible forces.

The grand master, after advising with the council, answered him, that his order was composed of a body of military religious, who, as such, depended by their profession on the sovereign pontiff of the Christians; that their ancestors had, by their valour, and at the expense of their blood, made a conquest of Rhodes and the neighbouring islands, the sovereignty of which no prince as yet had disputed with them; that at the time of his election to the grand mastership, this sovereignty was put in trust into his hands; that he was accountable for it to his brothers and their successors, and that he would sacrifice his life with pleasure rather than do the least thing to prejudice the independency and liberty of the order.

This wise grand master and his council, not doubting but so resolute an answer would be soon attended by the sultan's invasion of their territories,

applied to the princes of Christendom, though they took this step rather with a view of having nothing wherewith they might reproach themselves, than out of any hopes of a speedy and effectual succour. The commander d'Aubusson, of the language of Auvergne, descended from one of the most noble and ancient houses of la Marche, was appointed ambassador to Charles VII. then upon the throne of France. The grand master knowing his zeal for the order, made choice of him for that commission, and it proved the last action of his mastership. He died in a very old age, after having governed Rhodes in difficult and tempestuous times, with equal prudence and courage.

## BOOK VII.

**BROTHER** James de Milly, grand prior of Auvergne, succeeded the grand master de Lastic, June 1, 1454. He was then at his priory. They dispatched the chevalier de Boisrond his nephew to him, to carry to him the act of his election. In this dispatch the council represented how important it was for the good of the order, that he should repair immediately to Rhodes. In the same letter they insinuated, that in order to get rid of the recommendations of princes in favour of some young knights, and not prejudice the rights of seniority, it would be proper for him to make an early declaration, that he would grant no favour before he had taken possession of his dignity in Rhodes, and the oaths usually tendered to the grand masters at such solemnities.

The prince paid a just deference to this advice,



set out immediately for Rhodes, and arrived there on August 20, 1454. His presence was indeed very necessary. Mahomet, the haughtiest and proudest man breathing, enraged at the resolute answer that the knights made his ambassador, vowed their ruin, and the destruction of Rhodes; and, out of his eagerness to be revenged, had sent thirty galleys, as the harbingers of his fury, who ravaged the coasts of the isles of the order.

Of all the neighbouring princes, whom his ambition made him look upon as his enemies, there was none more odious to him, or whom he suffered more impatiently in the midst of his territories, than the grand masters of Rhodes. He intended the year following to fall upon that isle, and extirpate the whole order of St. John: but he was obliged to defer that enterprise upon news of a powerful league that was formed against him for the defence of Hungary. Pope Calixtus III. was the head of it; and besides the king of Hungary, he had engaged in it successively, Alphonsus king of Arragon, Philip duke of Burgundy, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the new grand master of Rhodes, and several princes of Italy.

Charles VII. king of France, was strongly solicited by a legate, whom the pope had sent on purpose, to join his forces with those of the allies. The pontiff too, upon that prince's appearing averse to leave his dominions, had wrote to him in imperious terms; but those times were now no more, when popes, either out of a true zeal for religion, or political views, could easily carry their point, under the specious pretext of crusades and holy wars, of banishing emperors and other sovereigns into the farthest parts of the East. The king of France

slighted menaces that came disguised under the mask of pious exhortations. However, as he was a truly religious prince, though he was still on his guard against the English, whom he had driven out of France, and that the ambition of the dauphin his son gave him great uneasiness, he nevertheless presented the commander d'Aubusson, whom the grand master had sent to desire succours from him, with considerable sums, which were employed either in buying up arms, or finishing the new fortifications of the town of Rhodes.

Whilst the allies were arming, and bringing their forces slowly to the rendezvous, Mahomet, after several feints, fell on the town of Belgrade, that Amurath had formerly besieged to no purpose, which made this prince desirous out of an emulation of glory, of surprising or carrying it by force. This important place is situated upon a point of land, in a sort of peninsula, formed by two rivers, by the Danube to the north, and the Save to the west. Huniades, one of the greatest captains of Christendom, and the only man of his time to be compared with Scander-Beg, lay, during all the time of the siege, intrenched with a body of Hungarians on the north bank of the Danube. Mahomet, to make himself master of the river before Belgrade, and to cut off the communication of the Christian camp with the place, had formed a sort of semicircle of saicks and brigantines fastened together, which occupied the space both above and below the city. Huniades, to break through this inclosure, and throw succours into the place, fitted out a great number of vessels of different bulks, and, putting his bravest and most resolute soldiers on board, goes himself at their head, falls down the stream, attacks

the infidels fleet, leaps first into the emperor's gal-  
liot, takes it, and followed by the Hungarian offi-  
cers, who commanded the land forces, breaks the  
inclosure, disperses the little vessels that formed it,  
sinks part of them, seizes on others, puts the troops  
on board them to the sword, and enters into the port,  
dragging after him the shattered remains of the  
Turkish fleet. This lord by his presence, raised  
the courage of the garrison and inhabitants, and  
addressing himself to them: "I am come," says he,  
"in company with these brave soldiers, resolved  
either to live or die with you, and I will either save  
the place, or bury myself in its ruins.

This great man, during the whole siege, per-  
formed all the functions of a wise captain and a re-  
solute soldier. He was general, governor, com-  
mander of the fleet and artillery at one and the  
same time; the Turks met with him at all the posts  
they attacked; they saw him in like manner at the  
head of all the sallies that were made. They say,  
that in one of these sallies he killed no less than  
twelve enemies with his own hand: but as these  
little advantages were not any ways decisive, and  
as Mahomet was still advancing his works, he saw  
plainly, that nothing but an engagement and a  
battle could save the place. He therefore caused the  
garrison, the troops that he brought with him, and  
the bravest of the inhabitants, to put themselves  
under arms; then made choice of the bravest of  
them, and out of these troops formed a considerable  
body, put himself at their head, and fell into the  
enemies trenches sword in hand, A. D. 1456. He  
at first cut all those to pieces that stood in his way:  
but the Turks soon rallied. Never had the Chris-  
tians and infidels fought with greater courage and

obstinacy. Huniades, resolved either to vanquish or die, provoked at so long a resistance, throws himself into the thickest battalions of the enemy, and obliges the infidels to retire in disorder. Mahomet himself runs to their succour, and at the head of those invincible legions of janizaries, which formed the strength of his army and empire, charges the Christians, and kills one of the principal officers of the Hungarians with his own hand, but at the same time he received a deep wound in the thigh, which disabled him. The combat however still lasted with the same fury. Huniades made new efforts, drove them from their batteries, and turned the cannon against the tents of the sultan. But the Christian general, seeing a body of spahi advancing to cut off his retreat, did not think it prudent to drive the Turks, by too obstinate an engagement, to a despair that is frequently more formidable than their ordinary valour, but contenting himself with the advantages he had gained, re-entered triumphantly into Belgrade, amidst the acclamations of his soldiers, who dragged after them a great number of prisoners.

The sultan was immediately informed of the issue of the combat. They could not conceal from him, that the first bashas of his court, the vizir, the aga of the janizaries, and the principal officers of that body of troops were killed: that the cannon was nailed up, and the baggage taken. It is said, that at this ill news, so contrary to his expectation, he called for poison to put an end to his life and vexation. It is certain however, that he lost above 20,000 men of his best troops, and that he was obliged to raise the siege, August 6, 1458, and retire to Constantinople with precipitation.

To increase his pain, he received advice, that the knights of Rhodes, in order to make a diversion during the campaign, had ravaged the coasts of his dominions, blocked up his ports, done infinite damage to the commerce of his subjects, and secured that of the Christians. The sultan, to be revenged, put to sea a strong fleet, having 18,000 land forces on board, ordering them to destroy all the isles of the order with fire and sword. The admiral landed first in the island of Coos or Lango. He there besieged a fortified castle, called Landimachio. The Turks battered the place with a great train of cannon and mortars, and having made a breach, advanced in crowds to the assault. They flattered themselves, that they should carry the castle without much opposition; but they met with a number of knights on the breach, who drove them back; and by rolling down great stones, and throwing boiling oil and melted lead upon the besiegers, laid the bravest of them dead at the foot of the walls. A seasonable sally, following this defence, put an end to the dispute, and caused so much trouble and disorder in the infidel troops, that they re-embarked with more precipitation and eagerness than they had run to the assault.

The general, not daunted with this ill success, thought he should be more lucky against the inhabitants of the island Simia or Apes. He invested the castle, and, to save his men, carried on the siege by sap, running his mines as far as the middle of the place. But his design being timely discovered, was prevented by the knights, who, making counter-mines, defeated his attempt, and advancing sword in hand, cut the miners and the troops that supported them to pieces, and forced the infidels to re-embark,

From thence they stood for the isle of Rhodes, and landing some soldiers, the admiral ordered them to march with all possible secrecy into the country, to see what guard they kept in the island, and whether there were any troops along the coast.

These spies went a good way up into the country without being discovered; every thing appeared buried in a profound calm, and without the least distrust; and likewise found, that a town at no great distance, called Archangel, very well peopled, and the richest of the island, was in a sorry condition for defence; thereupon they made the signals which the admiral had directed. The general immediately put all his infantry into flat-bottomed vessels, and, landing them, the infidels marched straight to the town, surprised the inhabitants, slew all that opposed them, and made slaves of the rest; but, fearing to be attacked by all the forces of the order, the Turkish admiral, after ravaging the open country, re-embarked in great haste. He did the like execution in the isles of Lerro, Calamo, Nissaro, Lango and Simia, which he visited again on his return from Rhodes. As those isles were most of them defenceless, he ravaged the country, rooted up the vines, cut down the fruit trees, carried off all the inhabitants that he could surprise, and, after having left marks of his cruelty wherever he went, returned back to Constantinople. He presented Mahomet with a great number of slaves, which he had made in his expedition: the sultan viewed them with a barbarous pleasure, as what gratified his rage against the knights: he left them only the choice of dying or abjuring their religion. Several were weak enough to do the latter, and these wretches, turning Mahometans, served for guides to

the corsairs that infested the several isles of the order.

Brother John de Chateneuf, of the language of Provence, commander of Usez in the priory of St. Giles, and bailiff of the isles of Lango, Lerro and Calamo, finding them in a miserable condition, surrendered the government of them to the order, who, in a general chapter, desired the grand master to undertake the re-peopling of them: and, to prevent the like surprises, the same chapter ordered, that fifty knights should constantly reside in the castle of St. Peter; that five-and-twenty should be kept in the isle of Lango; that forty more should be put on board the guard-galley, which was always kept in the port of Rhodes; and the grand master himself took care to have a fort built in the town of Archangel for the security of the inhabitants.

These precautions were the more necessary, for besides the war which the order was engaged in against the Turks, they were on the point of coming to a rupture with the soldan of Egypt, a neighbouring potentate, no less formidable than Mahomet. The grand master had just received a pressing letter from Louis of Savoy, king of the isle of Cyprus, in right of queen Charlotte of Lusignan his wife, in which he begged the succour and protection of the order against the enterprises of a bastard of the house of Lusignan, who, by help of the credit that he had at the soldan's court, pretended to make himself master of the kingdom.

It is well known, that the order possessed great estates, and even some towns and considerable fortresses in that place; so that nothing could pass in a civil war between the queen and the bastard, but the grand master must be obliged to concern himself in it.

In order to have a right notion of these reciprocal pretensions, we must observe, that John de Lusignan, the last king of Cyprus, left no heir to his dominions but a young princess, called Charlotte, whom he had by Helena Paleologus, his second wife. He was an effeminate prince, of a weak constitution, almost an idiot, incapable of governing, and the meanest man in the nation was better versed in the affairs of his kingdom than himself. The whole authority remained in the person of the queen, who was governed by her nurse's son, an absolute minister, that disposed of the government as he pleased, and made the most he could of all the posts, dignities, and revenues of the crown.

A period was put to this unjust administration by the princess's marriage with John of Portugal, duke of Coimbra. This prince being, in right of his wife, presumptive heir of the crown, was for entering upon the exercise of the rights, which the king, his father-in-law, had neglected. The imperious minister opposed it, but the prince's party prevailed; and the minister, fearing his resentment, took refuge at Famagusta, which had been long in the possession of the Genoese. His mother, to revenge the banishment of her son, got the Portuguese prince poisoned. On his death the minister returned to court, and resumed his former authority in that place: he resumed, at the same time, all his pride: and whether a thirst of revenge, or the haughtiness of his temper was the motive, or else, as it generally happens to men of his stamp, his head was turned with the exalted height of his fortune, he kept no measures with the widow of the duke of Coimbra: he even industriously sought all occasions of doing her ill offices with the queen, her mother.



The princess, enraged at his haughty and insolent conduct, complained of it to James de Lusignan, her natural brother, who was nominated to the archbishopric of Nicosia, the capital of the island, though not yet in holy orders. He was a man that had abandoned himself to ambition, one who never stopped at any crime to gain his ends, naturally close, cruel in cold blood, and, wherever his interest was concerned, capable of a premeditated assassination.

This bastard, during the life of the duke of Coimbra, whose courage and capacity he feared, never intermeddled in public affairs, confining himself entirely to the business of his office; but the death of the Portuguese prince gave new life to his ambition, and he fancied it not impossible for him to make his way to the throne, or at least to get into the ministry; in order to do this, it was necessary to remove the nurse's son from the direction of affairs.

James, under pretence of revenging the insults offered to the princess, stabbed him with his own hand. He was in hopes of succeeding him in his employment, but the queen's wrath would not allow him to appear at court. He fled privately to the house of a noble Venetian, his particular friend, called Mark Cornaro, a rich and powerful man, who had considerable possessions in the island; but not thinking himself secure in that place against the resentment of an offended queen, he went to Rhodes, and wrote from thence to the pope, to desire a confirmation of his dignity of archbishop.

The queen, who was afraid of his subtle and crafty genius, traversed his designs at Rome. The bastard, incensed at her opposition, carried things to the utmost lengths, and laying aside all thoughts

of the archbishopric, collected a number of banditti, returned to the isle of Cyprus, arrived at Nicosia, formed a strong party, destroyed his enemies and all that could pretend to the ministry and government, and seized, in spite of the queen, upon the forces and revenue of the kingdom. That princess prudently dissembled at an usurpation which she was not able to oppose: she had no remedy left but in a second marriage of her daughter: she contracted her to Lewis, son to the duke of Savoy, who arrived soon after in the isle of Cyprus, with a fleet and a body of land forces on board. All the bastard had now to do was, to make the best of his way out of the island, and he fled for refuge to the court of the soldan at Grand Cairo.

In the mean time the king and queen dying within a few days of one another, the prince and princess of Savoy were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus, and, as such, were crowned with great solemnity. The bastard of Lusignan, as soon as he received the news, sent one of his creatures to Constantinople, to desire Mahomet's interest with the soldan; and, as usurpers stop at nothing, his agent offered, in his name, to pay the grand seignior the same tribute that was paid the Egyptian prince out of Cyprus. The bastard found means, at the same time, by great presents, to engage the soldan's son and three of his principal ministers in his interest, who did not fail representing to him, that if he would grant the investiture of the kingdom to the bastard, he would double the tribute which his father used to pay in his life time.

This intrigue, of which king Lewis had notice from his ambassador at Grand Cairo, was the occasion of his writing immediately to the grand master,

to desire his advice and assistance in such an important juncture. The order had, for a long time, been a protector to all the princes of the house of Lusignan. The grand master, as soon as he received the king's letters, sent brother John Delphin, commander of Nissarâ, to Grand Cairo, to traverse the bastard's pretensions and intrigues.

This ambassador represented to the soldan, that the isle of Cyprus being a feudatory of his crown, he was obliged, in justice, to support the lawful rights of the late king's heirs, against an ambitious man that was offering to invade them; that these heirs, being his vassals, would be exact in paying the tribute laid upon the island, and preserve an inviolable fidelity to him, for which the whole order would freely be responsible. The ambassador's dexterity, and some presents properly distributed among those barbarians, began to incline them to the juster side, when an ambassador arrived from Mâliomet, who represented to the soldan, that it was the interest of all true Mussulmen to hinder the prince of Savoy, or any Latin prince whatever, from settling in the Levant. He urged further, that he should look upon all that favoured them as his enemies; that in case he granted the investiture of Cyprus to a Latin prince, he ought to be afraid of raising an insurrection in his own dominions; and, if he was not strong enough to drive the duke of Savoy's son out of the island, he offered him the assistance of his own forces, and would even allow him, with pleasure, to make use of them to clear the isle of Rhodes of the knights, who were all Latins by extraction, and irreconcilable enemies to their prophet.

The Egyptian yielded to remonstrances that had

the air of a threat, and which came from a prince, whose arms and resentment no one at that time cared to draw upon himself. The investiture was granted to the bastard of Lusignan, and the sultan, to settle him on the throne, sent him back with a strong army. With this succour he made himself in a short time master of the whole kingdom. The king and queen had now nothing left but the fortress of Cyrene, into which they threw themselves for refuge: the bastard immediately invested and formed the siege of the place. The Genoese, in this revolution, still kept the town of Famagusta, and the knights maintained themselves in the castle of Colos, a strong place which belonged to the order, and made part of the great commandry of Cyprus.

Queen Charlotte de Lusignan, not finding herself safe in Cyrene, quitted the isle of Cyprus, and retired to that of Rhodes, under the protection of the grand master. The illustrious family whence that young princess was descended, her royal dignity; her misfortunes, and, above all, that natural empire which beauty gives, made most of the knights become her zealous partizans; and, it was likewise observed, that, either out of pure generosity or secret inclination, the commander d'Aubusson was particularly devoted to her interests. The usurper, on his side, in order to gain the support of the republic of Venice, married Catharine Cornaro, under the specious title of a daughter of St. Mark. Pursuant to this title, those subtle republicans, in order to create themselves a right over the island, gave young Cornaro a portion of a hundred thousand ducats; and the republic engaged, by a solemn treaty, to protect the new king against his enemies, meaning the knights of Rhodes, who had taken

queen Charlotte under their protection. But the usurper soon found, that it is rare to find fidelity and honour in treaties that are founded on injustice. The uncles of the Venetian lady were suspected of having poisoned the new king, in order to share in the government of the kingdom. It is at least certain, that the republic alone reaped all the benefit of these several usurpations.

The grand master, in the mean time, found himself in a very difficult situation between Mahomet and the sultan of Egypt, who alike threatened Rhodes with a siege. The sultan, too, to revenge the protection which the order gave the queen of Cyprus, had, contrary to the law of nations, seized on the ambassador Delphin, and all the merchant ships of Rhodes that were trading in Egypt. The grand master, in order to find how the Turks stood affected, sent a Greek prelate, Demetrius Nompilacus, to the porte, to desire passports from Mahomet for the commander de Saconnay, who was empowered to make proposals of peace: but he was not heard at that time. The knights were the more alarmed at it, inasmuch as at the same time they were drained both of money and ammunition, they had to defend themselves not only against the Saracens and Turks, but also the Venetians, who, on some trifling pretence relating to trade, made a descent in the isle of Rhodes, and committed greater ravages and cruelties there than the barbarians had ever done. They returned shortly after with a fleet of forty-two galleys, which blocked up the port of Rhodes, and threatened the town with a siege.

The occasion of this enterprise arose from the grand master having, in order to procure the liberty of his ambassador and subjects detained by the

soldan, caused two Venetian galleys, laden with merchandise for Saracen merchants, to be stopped, and seized at the same time a number of the soldan's subjects that were on board the galleys. The infidels were made galley-slaves; their merchandise was confiscated; and as for the galleys and Venetian crew they were dismissed, and allowed to pursue their course: all this was done agreeable to the ordinary rules of war, which authorise the confiscating of a friend's moveables that are found in the same bottom with those of an enemy. But the republic, which was in strict alliance with the Saracens, demanded, in high terms, the restitution of the effects that had been seized. Most of the young knights, especially the Spanish, were for giving no answer to such unreasonable and imperious propositions, but that of cannon-shot; the grand master, however, was of a different opinion. He had received advice, that if the order did not speedily release the Saracen prisoners and their merchandise, the commander of the fleet had private orders to ravage all the isles belonging to the order, to carry off the peasants and inhabitants of the open country, and deliver them up to the sultan, as hostages for the Saracens that had been seized at Rhodes. "I do not doubt, with the assistance of your valour," said the grand master in full council, "but that I shall be able to defend this place against all the forces of the republic; but I cannot prevent their galleys from surprising our subjects in the open country: and I believe it is more advisable to give up a few Saracens, rather than expose whole families to the danger of being made slaves to the infidels, and, perhaps, of being forced by torments to change their religion." The whole council acquiesced in

so prudent an opinion, the Saracens were delivered up to the Venetian admiral, and charity prevailed over the just resentment of so flagrant an injustice.

The order, in the midst of so many enemies, was unhappily distracted with divisions. The procurators of the languages of Spain, Italy, England and Germany, complained in a general chapter, that the principal dignities of the order, and particularly the post of captain-general of the island, was annexed to the languages of France, to the prejudice of the other nations; and they maintained, that in a well regulated republic, and in a state composed of the nobility and gentry of Europe, no distinction ought to be made but that of seniority and merit. The French alleged, that the order owed its foundation entirely to their ancestors; that if, in the series of time, other nations had been admitted into it, still it was the French that adopted them; that the other languages ought always to consider them as their first parents, and that it would be a great injustice now to deprive their successors of those marks of honour which they had acquired or preserved at the expence of their blood, and as a just recompence of the services which they had rendered the order. As to the post of captain-general, the commander d'Aubusson, who acted in that quality in the absence of the marshal of the order, replied, that that post belonged solely to the language of Auvergne, of which the marshal was the chief; that there was no language in the order but what had some particular dignity annexed to it; and as the French did not intrude into the functions of the admiral, the great conservator, the turcopilier, and the grand bailiff, dignities which had a seat in the council annexed to them, and were appropriated to

the languages of Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany, it was very surprising, that the knights of those languages should envy those of Provence, Auvergne and France, the posts of great commander, great commander, and great hospitaller, which had been exercised by French knights ever since the foundation of the order. Notwithstanding this judicious and modest answer, the malecontents persisted in their pretensions: but as they were sensible that their party was not sufficiently strong to carry their point, the procurator of the language of Arragon threw an appeal, drawn up in form to the holy see, before the grand master, and withdrew with the other procurators out of the chapter, in a seditious manner, and also went out of the city. The council was of opinion that they should be prosecuted; but the grand master, being of a mild temper, let this first fire spend itself. Some of the old knights interposed for an accommodation, when the warmest of the discontented party returned to the city and to their duty; but the grand master dying soon after of the gout, they renewed their pretensions under the mastership of brother Peter Raimond Zacosta, castellan of Emposta, a Castilian, who succeeded Milly, A. D. 1461. It was impossible for them to terminate this great affair, except by creating a new language in favour of the Castilians and Portuguese, who were severed from the Arragonese, Navarrese and Catalans. They annexed the dignity of great chancellor to this new language, so that by this augmentation there were afterwards eight languages in the order.

We have seen that Mahomet, impatient to fall upon the isle of Rhodes, had refused a safe conduct to the commander de Saconny, who had a commis-



sion from the grand master de Milly to treat of a peace between the order and the Porte. We must further observe, that the cause of such a harsh refusal arose, from the order's resolution not to hear the least mention of a tribute; other designs, of much greater moment, made Mahomet so much dissemble his resentment, that, to the astonishment of the knights, he sent a safe conduct to Rhodes, when they had no expectation of it. This surprise was increased, when they considered the extraordinary preparations, both by sea and land, which that prince was then making; preparations which made them suspect, that he talked of peace only to amuse them by a treaty which he was going immediately to break. The grand master, without discovering his diffidence, in order to discover the designs of the infidels, sent brother William Mareschal, commander of Villefranche, to Constantinople, accompanied by Arrogentille and Constance Callace, two Greeks of the isle of Rhodes. The negotiation was not spun out to any length; there was no mention of tribute, or at least the ministers of the Porte did not much insist on it. Mahomet, who was unwilling to be interrupted in his projects by the diversions usually made by the knights, signed a truce for two years, and the ambassador returned to Rhodes, without being able to discover on what side the sultan would turn his arms.

They were as ignorant of it at the Porte, even the very favourites of that prince; and the cadi-lescher, or lord chief justice of Constantinople, seeing the campaign ready to open, having the boldness to ask him where the storm would fall, Mahomet angrily said, "If one hair of my beard knew my secret, I would tear it out this moment, and

throw it in the fire:" an answer which that minister could not apply to himself without being terribly affrighted. At last the secret of this campaign, which kept Europe and Asia in a state of suspense, declared itself: the Turks entered Penderacia, anciently called Paphlagonia, and seized on Sinople and Castamone, two of the most considerable towns in the province, which, though subject to a Mahometan prince, served as a barrier to the imperial city of Trebisonde, subject to a Christian prince. It was this capital that Mahomet aimed at. That prince, who ever weighed his affairs, always extended his conquests gradually, advancing from one territory to the next adjoining; and having secured himself, on the side of the Persians, by a treaty of peace with Usun Cassan, he marched straight to Trebisonde, and invested it both by sea and land.

This city is situated upon the Black Sea, and was formerly part of the ancient Colchis. In the revolutions which happened at Constantinople, when the pseudo-emperor Comnenus lost his life, prince Isaac fled for refuge to Trebisonde: he made it the capital of a new empire, or rather, according to the genius of the Greeks, who gave pompous names to trifling places, he gave the shining title of empire to a state that consisted only of two or three little provinces. His successors maintained themselves therein with tranquillity, until the reign of another Alexis, who lived in the time of Amurath II. The sons of that Greek prince, impatient to succeed him, took up arms against their father, and at last against one another; while the old emperor lost his life in these civil wars. John, one of these unnatural princes, was at last left sole master of the empire,

upon the coasts of Turkey. Mahomet, the haughtiest prince on earth, could not bear that the knights should dare to treat with him on a footing of equality. He fell into a rage at the bare name of reprisals. To be revenged, he resolved to drive the knights out of Rhodes and out of all Asia; but before he engaged in that war, he thought proper to begin with the conquest of Lesbos, and some other islands of the Archipelago, from whence the order might draw any succour.

Lesbos is an island situated in the eastern part of the *Ægean* sea; a Greek prince of the house of Gattilusio, was then in possession, and claimed the sovereignty of it. Mahomet passed into the isle with the troops he had appointed for this conquest, and immediately besieged Mitylene, the capital of the island. The pretext that he made use of for this war was, that the prince of Lesbos allowed the liberty of his ports to the knights of Rhodes, and to the Genoese and Catalan privateers, that disturbed the navigation, and destroyed the commerce of the Turks.

The grand master, who was in strict alliance with the prince of Lesbos, immediately sent a considerable body of knights, who threw themselves into the place. He left the defence of it to them, and to the Genoese and Catalan privateers that were in the port. Lucio Gattilusio his cousin, shared the government and defence of the place with the archbishop of Mitylene, whilst that petty sovereign, a prince of no very warlike constitution, and greatly averse to dangers, shut up, or rather hid himself in the castle, as in the strongest place, and that which was least exposed. The besiegers, as well as the besieged, in the attack and defence of the place, gave

the most signal proofs of their courage. The Turks, who had been used to pass from one conquest to another, could not bear to have a petty prince presuming to stop the progress of the arms of their invincible emperor. They marched desperately to all the attacks, and great numbers of them lost their lives. Mahomet here found by experience the difference between a knight of Rhodes and a Turkish soldier. The knights did not give him a moment's rest; and by the torrents of blood, which they made stream in all their sallies, they made the vizier, who commanded at the siege under Mahomet, afraid, lest that prince, who was exceedingly brave, should lose his own life before the place. As nothing was dearer to the general than his master's preservation, the prudent minister engaged him, under colour of giving his orders for new succours, to pass back again to the continent, whither he sent him every day an exact relation of what passed at the siege.

The vigorous resistance of the knights and the Christian privateers not giving him room to flatter himself with speedy success, he had recourse to bribery, in which he succeeded better than by his arms. He applied to the governor of the town, who was of the same name and family as the prince, and promised, in Mahomet's name, to leave him the sovereignty of the island, if he would facilitate the taking of Mitylene, and engage never to suffer any knights or Christian privateers in the ports of the island.

Lucio Gattilusio could not possibly be ignorant, that Mahomet owed most of his conquests entirely to the pledging of his faith, and that he scarce ever kept it; but the weak Greek, dazzled with the

lustre of a crown, let himself be seduced by the vizier's specious promises. In consequence of which, the traitor opened a gate which he was appointed to defend; the Turks entered at it in crowds, and massacred the knights, who, though deserted by the Greeks, died with their weapons in their hands: several privateers met with a like fate; others, in hopes of life, which was promised them, surrendered prisoners. The traitor, in the midst of the tumult, ran to the castle, and, with an affected terror, represented to the prince, that he was going to be taken by storm, if he did not prevent it by a capitulation; and the weak prince of Lesbos committed the whole management of that affair into his hands. Mahomet, who was not far off, hastened, upon the advice he received from the vizier, to reap the glory and benefit of his negotiation: the treaty was agreed on; he promised the prince other lands in Greece in exchange for his island; and it was stipulated, that he should come to Constantinople to treat about this exchange. The prince of Lesbos repaired thither with his kinsman, whose treachery he was not aware of.

Mahomet treated them exactly as he had done the emperor of Trebisonde. As a preliminary to the negotiation, he left them only the choice of changing their religion, or of suffering immediate death. The two Gattilusios were base and cowardly enough to abjure the faith. They flattered themselves at least with the hopes of having preserved their lives by their apostacy; but Mahomet sought some other pretext to get rid of them. That prince, whose barbarous politics made him put every one to death that had any just claim to the countries he conquered, took advantage of the two Gattilusios walk-

ing abroad, to charge them with a design of making their escape, and thereupon ordered them both to be beheaded. He was still more cruel in his treatment of the Christian privateers that had defended Mitylene, and surrendered to the infidels upon the vizier's assuring them, that their lives should be saved. The sultan, notwithstanding his vizier's promise, and to intimidate their companions, ordered them to be sawed in two, and their limbs exposed to dogs and other voracious animals.

The grand master viewed these cruel executions as forerunners of a war, which Mahomet would carry on the next campaign in the isle of Rhodes: and, in order to prepare himself, he sent a general summons into Europe, directed to all the knights, with particular orders to the receivers to repair to Rhodes, to assist at a chapter which he had called, and to bring thither the annates and responsions, for which they were accountable to the common treasury.

Those officers, pursuant to these orders of their superior, pressed several commanders to satisfy and discharge what they owed; but the greatest part of them, especially those of Italy and Arragon, endeavoured, by various pretences, to elude the payment of what was so justly required of them. Some pretended that they were taxed at an excessive rate; others complained of the grand master as an old man that was continually terrified at the least motion of Mahomet, and, under the notion of an imaginary war, was always harassing them with long and tedious voyages, and inventing one pretence or other to drain them, by exorbitant taxes, which he laid upon them. These complaints were laid before pope Paul II., and seconded by the

kings of Naples and Arragon, and by the doge of Venice.

The king of Arragon, in particular, pressed the sovereign pontiff to summon him to Rome, to answer for his conduct. The cause of that prince's animosity was, the grand master still keeping in his hands the castellany of Emposta, which he enjoyed when he came to the mastership; and having demanded of that prince to restore several manors, which had belonged to that great commandry, and which the king had seized. All these princes, actuated by different motives, prevailed with the pope to order the general chapter, which was summoned to Rhodes, to be held at Rome. This was surrendering the grand master to his enemies; and, what was worse, by this new citation and change in affairs, they exposed the isle of Rhodes to the enterprises of Mahomet. The grand master might have made use of so just a reason, to excuse himself from the voyage, and could have alleged the necessity he was under, of defending in person the dominions, the sovereignty of which the order had intrusted him with: but the venerable old man, eager to prove his innocence on so public a theatre as the court of Rome, repaired thither immediately, and the chapter was opened soon after. The grand master, who had the oldest commanders and best men of the order appearing in his favour, soon convinced the pope, that the complaints had no manner of foundation, but were owing only to the libertinism of some profligate knights, who, though they had great estates, yet did not find them sufficient to support their excessive luxury: and, to show his disinterestedness, and take from the king of Arragon all subject of complaint, he made a resignation of the castellany

of ~~Emposta~~ to the order and chapter, having kept it in his hands after his election to the grand mastership, with the view of enabling him to proceed with building the fortress of St. Nicholas.

Such testimonies of his disinterestedness covered his enemies with confusion. The pope was ashamed of having listened to them, and of suffering himself to be imposed upon by them; and in order to repair the injury he had done the grand master, gave him the highest testimonies of his esteem in private, and affected to distinguish him in public, by all the marks of respect that were so justly due to his merit, and the rank he held among christian princes. The chapter also made several severe regulations against the disobedient, which were approved by the holy see. The grand master was preparing to carry them to Rhodes, when a pleurisy put an end to his life; the common opinion being, that the uneasiness and fatigues, which the wicked religious occasioned him, had hastened his end. The pope caused him to be buried in the church of St. Peter, and omitted no kind of pious magnificence that was proper to adorn his funeral obsequies; and by a decree of the chapter they observed in the epitaph of this grand master, that he was equally distinguished by his piety, his charity, and his capacity for the arts of government.

The general chapter then proceeded to a new election, A. D. 1467: the votes were divided between brother Raimond Ricard, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, and brother John Baptista Ursini, prior of Rome, and of so illustrious a family, that his very name, abstracted from his personal merit and qualities, might alone procure him a preference to any competitor. Yet



he carried it by one voice only: a circumstance which may make us presume, that the plurality of votes would hardly have been on his side in any other place but Rome.

The new grand master, taking leave of the pope, made all the haste he could to Rhodes, where Mahomet's ambition and forces made them always apprehensive of some surprise. He sent a particular summons to the bravest and most experienced knights of each language, to repair thither. Nor was it long before there arrived brother Bertrand de Cluys, grand prior of France; brother John de Bourbon, commander of Boncourt; brother John de Saily, commander of Fieffes; brother John Warner, commander of Oison; and brother Peter d'Aubusson, one of the greatest captains of the order, and particularly versed in the science of military fortification; on which account the grand master made him surveyor of those of the island. By his advice and direction, they made the town ditches deeper and wider, and raised a wall six hundred foot long, thirty-six broad, and six thick, on the side that lay towards the sea.

This precaution was the more necessary, as they were afterwards informed, that the sultan would have opened the campaign with the siege of Rhodes, had he not been detained at Constantinople by a dangerous illness. The plague, at the same time, breaking out in that capital of the Turkish empire, he was obliged to put off that enterprise for some time. However, not to allow the knights any respite, he put to sea thirty galleys, with a body of foot on board, giving the commander orders to make descents in the weakest places of the island, to carry off the inhabitants, and destroy all before

him with fire and sword. The grand master, having intelligence of this armament, defeated the design of it by his prudent conduct and the valour of the knights. There were then several castles in the island, situated at certain distances from one another, which in time of war served for a retreat to the inhabitants of the country. Among these strong places were the castles of Lindo, Feracle, Ville-neuve, Catauda, Archangel and Tiranda. The peasants had orders to retire thither with their cattle; and the knights, dividing themselves into different bodies of cavalry, and suffering the Turks to land, fell upon such as advanced into the country, killed a great number of them, took several prisoners, and forced the rest to seek safety on board their fleet.

Mahomet, whose whole life was a kind of continual campaign, provoked at this defeat, issued strict orders for a new armament by sea and land. They made no question but these extraordinary preparations were designed either against the isle of Rhodes or that of Negrepont, which was then subject to the Venetians. In this uncertainty, those politic republicans, in order to make advantage of the assistance of the order, sent ambassadors to the grand master and council, to propose a league with them, both offensive and defensive, against their common enemy. Nothing in outward appearance could be more convenient for both; but when they came to examine into the conditions of the treaty, the knights were strangely surprised to find the Venetians demand as a preliminary, that the order should put itself under the protection of their republic, and submit to a dependence on it, and should for the future undertake nothing without their orders. The grand master rejected the project of a league

with a just indignation, which, under the name of an alliance, would have reduced the order into a state of vassalage: and if this had not been expressly mentioned by some celebrated historians, we could hardly imagine; that so wise a body as the senate of Venice could have been capable of making so odious a proposal, to an order composed of the most illustrious and valiant nobility and gentry of Christendom, which by its single forces had so long made head against those of the Saracens and Turks. But though this league proved ineffectual, yet as soon as intelligence arrived at Rhodes, that Mahomet's troops had invested the isle and town of Negrepont, the grand master, in a sense of what his profession obliged him to, viz. to defend the dominions of all Christian princes, immediately sent a squadron of galleys, well provided, to the succour of the Venetians. The chevalier de Cardonne commanded this squadron, and the commander d'Aubusson, eminently skilled in the attack and defence of any strong hold, was put at the head of a body of brave knights, who had orders to endeavour to land, and throw themselves into the town which was besieged.

The isle of Negropont was anciently called Eubœa. It is about 260 miles in circumference; its greatest breadth is forty, and its least twenty miles: and it has a communication with the main land of Bœotia by a bridge over the Euripus. The capital of it was called Colchis by the Athenians; but it has since taken the general name of the island. John Bondumiero and Lewis Calbo his lieutenant, both noble Venetians, commanded in it for the republic; and Paul Erizzo, another noble Venetian, who had just before exercised the office of proveditor there, seeing the enemy draw near to besiege it,

generously resolved to stay in the place, though the time of his service was expired. Mahomet, before he attacked the isle of Rhodes, resolved to reduce that of Negropont, from whence the knights might otherwise obtain succours.

This warlike prince, followed by an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, arrived on the bank of the Euripus, which he crossed on a bridge of boats that he caused to be built; at the same time that his fleet, consisting of 300 sail, and commanded by the vizier Machmut, was advancing forwards, A. D. 1470. There were three principal attacks in the siege, in which the Turks at first lost a great number of men: but a traitor discovering a place of the walls which they had overlooked, the fortifications of which were old and ruinous, they played upon it with their artillery, and beat down a great pannel of the wall. The besieged sent advice of the danger they were in to general Canalé, who commanded the fleet of the republic. The galleys of the order had joined it. The Christian fleet came up immediately in sight of the enemy. They had the wind and current on their side, and had resolved in a council of war to attack the bridge over the Euripus, in order to cut off the communication which the Turks had with the main land, and thereby deprive them of the convoys which they received from thence. All the fleet was eager for an engagement, and demanded it with great shouts; and particularly the knights de Cardone and d'Aubusson pressed Canalé to advance. But that admiral casting his eyes by chance on his only son, who looked frightened at the danger, after reflecting for some time whether he should engage the enemy or retreat, at last shamefully tacked

about, sailed away from the infidels, and abandoned the besieged, who were then left without any hopes of succour.

The sultan took advantage of their consternation: his troops mounted the next day to the assault, and stormed that part of the wall that his artillery had beaten down. They did not enter however, till after a gallant defence had been made over the bodies of Bondumiero, Calbo, and the principal officers of the garrison, who died bravely on the breach.

The proveditor Erizzo disputed every inch of ground, making a stand at every intrenchment thrown up in the streets, but, seeing himself forced on all sides, he made his way to the castle, where he held out for some time with great bravery; but at last wanting provisions and ammunition, and most of his soldiers being wounded, he was forced to capitulate. He would not, however, deliver up the castle, till he had the sultan's express word for the security of his life. That prince swore by his own head, that Erizzo's should not be touched; but when he had him in his power, he ordered him to be sawed in two; and mixing raillery with cruelty, and meanly playing with a deceitful and ambiguous oath, he said, that he had indeed given Erizzo assurance for his head, but that he had never meant to spare his sides.

That gallant Venetian had with him Anne Erizzo his daughter, a young lady of surprising beauty. Her father, fearing she would be exposed to the brutish lust of the soldiers, begged of the executioners to put her to death before they dispatched him; but they replied, that she was reserved for the sultan's pleasures. They led her to that prince, who was charmed with her beauty, and offered her

both his heart and his empire. The discreet lady answered, with a modest intrepidity, that she was a Christian and a virgin, and that she did not so much fear death as she abhorred the debauchery of his seraglio, and the poisonous flattery of his promises. Mahomet tried all ways to seduce her, but in vain. They presented her with fine cloaths and jewels in his name, but she refused them with a noble disdain. Mahomet, naturally more proud than sensual, enraged at her refusal, changed his love into hatred, and cut off her head with his scymitar at one blow; thus fulfilling the wishes of that heroine, who by the sacrifice of a short transitory life, and a frail beauty, acquired immortal glory and felicity.

It would be a difficult task to describe the cruelties exercised at the taking of Negropont. The island was soon covered with slaughter and horror; the Turkish soldiers, following the example, and acting under the eyes of their sovereign, esteemed themselves for their fury and extravagance. They were particularly careful not to give any quarter to the Latin Christians; and the sultan, enraged that he had found the galleys of the order in the Venetian fleet, sent to Rhodes to denounce mortal war against them, swearing that he would kill the grand master with his own hand, and destroy all the knights that came within his power.

These menaces did not deter the order from continuing their generous succours to the Venetians. The fleet of that republic was at that time commanded by the famous Macenigo, who was placed in the room of the cowardly Canalé. The galleys of the order having joined him, they sailed to besiege Attalia, a famous town on the coast of Pam-

philia, called at present Satalia. The proveditor Sorano was immediately ordered to break the chain that shut up the port, which he executed with great courage and success. The Christian fleet entered the harbour, and afterwards sacked the suburbs of the two inclosures with which the town was fortified. They carried the first; but the walls of the second being too high for the ladders which they had prepared to scale them, and the general of the galleys of the order with several brave knights being killed in the attack, the Venetian general gave it over, notwithstanding the cries of an old Christian woman, a slave in Satalia, who called out to the Christians from the wall, and told them the small number and weakness of the besieged. They say that she was seized with so much grief at hearing the retreat sounded, that she threw herself headlong from the top of the rampart into the ditch, whence the Venetians took her, bruised to pieces with her fall, and gave her decent interment.

The Christians after this repulse went to wreak their anger upon the open country; and after the usual waste and havoc made in an enemy's territories, came to an anchor at Rhodes. There they found an ambassador of Usum-Cassan, king of Persia, called Azimamet, who, besides his servants, was accompanied with above a hundred Persian gentlemen.

In order to have a just notion of the negotiation on which he was sent to the grand master and other Christian princes, who were enemies to Mahomet, we must observe, that after the loss of Negropont, the Venetians had formed a strong league against the Turk, into which pope Paul II. had entered, together with the king of Arragon, Ferdinand king

of Naples, the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and the republic of Florence. Besides these succours, the Venetians, in the hope of raising up enemies against the sultan on every side, had sent an ambassador, Catherini Zeno by name, into Persia, to solicit Usum-Cassan to make a diversion that might be strong enough to stop the arms of an ambitious prince, who threatened to enslave all the East. There was no need of making a prince sensible of his own interests, who had for a long time been uneasy at the conquests of Mahomet. We have said, that he had already made a league with several Christian princes against the Turk; but the fatal discords of the confederates, and the impetuosity of Mahomet, had till then always defeated the benefit of those pompous alliances, which were more showy than solid. However, he readily hearkened to the proposals made him by the Venetian ambassador.

Assun-Cassan, or Uzun-Hassan; that is, Uzun the Long, so called from his great stature, was the sixth prince of the Turcomans, of the dynasty of Ackonjonlu, or of the White Sheep. He began his conquests with usurping the dominions of his brother Gehanghir, whom he dispatched, and the same year seized upon those of Gehanschah, a prince of the dynasty of the Black Sheep, whom he put to death with all his family: nor did he give better treatment to Abousaid, grandson to Tamerlane, from whom he took all Persia.

Though this prince was a professed Mussulman, yet whether he had discovered the imposture of it, or that the interest of his kingdom was the first principle of his religion, he made no scruple of entering into an alliance with the princes of Chris-



tendom. He sent his minister only to view the forces of his allies. The ambassador was received by the grand master with all the honours and magnificence due to his character: they loaded him with civilities and presents. The Persian gentry that attended him were every day entertained by the principal knights of the order; and, to give him a good opinion of the forces of the league, they showed him their naval and land forces one after another, drawn up in order of battle, and their manner of fighting in a real engagement.

Azimamet, in an audience he had of the grand master and principal captains of the league, told them, that the king his master had taken from Mahomet the strong place of Torata in the Lesser Armenia; that he was preparing to carry on his conquests; that the Persians were indeed invincible by their cavalry, which were the best in the world; that he did not want either men, horses, lances or sabres; but that the use of fire-arms was altogether unknown in his country, and that the king, his master, had ordered him to request the Christian princes to send him some skilful founders and able gunners to serve him against the Turks. This was promised him: and the grand master sending a squadron of galleys to escort him, he was conducted to Venice, where the treaty was concluded. At his departure the senate sent a hundred officers of artillery, as also several excellent founders and gunsmiths along with him, who afterwards supplied the Persian armies with a complete train of artillery, and a great number of harquebusses or hand-guns.

It was scarcely possible for so pompous an embassy to be concealed from Mahomet. This prince soon guessed the motives of it; and, in order to

make the negotiation miscarry, he dispatched an ambassador to the king of Persia, who was ordered to represent to him, what a blemish it would be, to his honour to make an alliance with infidels against a prince of his own religion. The Persian paid little regard to Mahomet's reproaches, but finding his interest in the league, persisted in it with vigour, nor could even ill success disengage him from it. Mahomet, exasperated at the fixed resolution of that prince, declared war against him, and went at the head of an army of a hundred and ninety thousand men to attack him in the heart of his dominions.

Before he set out from Constantinople he left prince Zizim, the youngest of his sons, in that city, with a good council, to take care of the government; but as he passed through Amasia, took Bajazet, a brother of that young prince, along with him; and Mustapha, the eldest, who commanded on the frontiers of Caramania, came to join him with the troops of his government. This young prince the year before had routed an army of Ussun-Cassan in a pitched battle. Mahomet, to improve this victory, and take advantage of the consternation of the Persians, advanced as far as the banks of the Euphrates. His design was to pass that river, and advance forward into Persia; but he saw Ussun-Cassan on the other side, who, attended by the three princes his sons, at the head of an army, consisting of forty thousand cavalry, was ready to dispute the passage. Never was a more glorious strife seen between two royal houses. The Euphrates, opposite to where the two armies were posted, divided into several branches, some of them fordable. The Turks threw themselves into the river, but the continual

march of horses putting the sand in motion, the ford became a whirlpool that swallowed up every thing. To make the misfortune greater, the banks of the river were cut steep and shelving by the precaution of the king of Persia; so that, spent with fatigue, and without sure footing on the quick-sands to fight on, they were exposed as a mark to the Persian arrows, without being able to revenge their deaths. Above twelve thousand men perished in this attempt; and the furious Mahomet, raging at his ill success, was at last forced to sound a retreat.

As the Persians had carried off all the provisions and forage of those quarters, the Turks were obliged to return to their own frontiers. The Persian had done enough for glory, and, could he have been content with this advantage, nothing had been wanting to complete it; but, persuaded by the daring counsels of his sons, he passed the Euphrates, and pursued his enemy, whom he found strongly intrenched. They soon came to an engagement; both armies closed, and the prince had as much his share in the battle as the private soldier. Victory changed sides more than once; but Mustapha, Mahomet's eldest son, at last fixed it on that of the sultan. He routed a great body of Persians, commanded by prince Zeinel, Ussun-Cassan's son, who was killed at the same time. While Mustapha was pursuing the fugitives, he sent the Persian prince's head to Mahomet, as an earnest of the victory, which, after the death of Zeinel, declared itself absolutely against the Persians: their whole army was dispersed, and fled to the neighbouring mountains. In the midst of Mahomet's joy for his glorious success, news was brought him that they did not know

What was become of prince Mustapha. The sultan, on this occasion, felt all the tender emotions of a father, and was cursing the fatal victory, when the shouts of the soldiers gave him notice of the young prince's return. In the first transports of his joy he ran with eagerness to meet him, and embraced him tenderly, covered as he was with blood and dust. He would even present him with a cup of sorbee with his own hand; but Mustapha found, by agreeable experience on this occasion, that of all refreshments, none is more proper to wipe off the sweat and fatigues of a battle than a victory just gained.

Yet the glittering prospects of this young prince, the partner of the fatigues and glory of his father, the support of the throne, and the hopes of his subjects, in the midst of all his triumphs, was shortly after blasted. Achmet Geduc, one of the principal bashas of the Porte, had a wife of extraordinary beauty. The young sultan had the misfortune to meet her as she was going to the bath; and, notwithstanding the severe injunction laid on the women of that nation, of never appearing in public unveiled, she could not resist the secret pleasure of letting him have a glimpse of her face, in order to discover how beautiful she was: she let fall a corner of her veil, but took it up again immediately, and showed herself with that reserved air, only to make herself be viewed with more curiosity. The courtiers, a servile set of men, did not fail to applaud the criminal desires of the young prince, who fancied himself above all laws, after having performed so many great actions in war. He followed her to the bath, and made his way, in spite of the guards, into a place forbidden to men, where he surprised her in a situation not over decent, and, hurried away by his

passion, obtained favours, in which perhaps he did not meet with much resistance. Achmet was soon informed of it, and enraged at the insult, ran to the seraglio, where he threw himself at Mahomet's feet, tore his beard, his vest and turban, and by his cries and tears, gave the sultan to understand his wife's, or rather his own misfortune. Mahomet already began to be uneasy at the proud and haughty temper of his son; however, not to degrade himself so much as to blame this outrage before one of his subjects, he dissembled his resentment, and viewing the basha with an air of contempt, "Are not," said he to him, "thy wife and thee both my slaves, and too much honoured with contributing to the satisfaction of my children?" He dismissed him with this rough answer, but sent, at the same time, for Mustapha, and with that air, at which the greatest of his court trembled, made him the most bitter reproaches, bid him be gone from his presence; and hearing that the young prince expressed the utmost indignation on going out of the seraglio, and murmured at so harsh a treatment, he sent orders three days after to have him strangled. Notwithstanding there was an interval of two years between these incidents, I have related them together, by reason of the connection there is between them, and for the convenience of the reader.

The order of time should make us resume the narration in that part which relates to the league between the Persian monarch, the grand master, and the other Christian princes: but as that affair does not come directly within the subject of our history, we shall only observe, that the war between the two mighty princes, who disputed for the empire of Asia, lasted for several years, and suspended

the enterprise that Mahomet had formed against Rhodes. The grand master, during this interval, renewed his precautions for the preservations of the island; by his orders, with the concurrence of the council, some ancient knights were sent to visit all the places and isles that belonged to the order. It was at this time that he held a general chapter at Rhodes, the surest resource for the maintenance or re-establishment of the regular discipline. It was in these numerous assemblies that proper measures were taken, and that without distinction of persons, for the reformation of manners; and we may affirm, that had it not been for the frequent meetings of their chapters, the order could never, in the midst of the confusion and hurry of war, have so long preserved itself in the spirit of piety and disinterestedness, which distinguished it as much as its courage and extraordinary valour.

Though the power of so many sovereigns, as had entered into the league, kept Mahomet in some awe, yet that prince had such numerous armies on foot, that the knights were continually on their guard for fear of being surprised. They added more new fortifications to the old ones, and built two towers close by the sea, on the side that lies towards Limonia, and a third facing the village of St. Martha. The commander d'Aubusson, made grand prior of Auvergne after the death of the chevalier Cottet, carried on those works with an attention worthy of his zeal and capacity. Nothing escaped his diligence. The grand master and the order were as attentive to his directions as if they had been so many laws. He was, as it were, the soul and *primum mobile* of the council, and was generally the only person made use of to execute the projects he him-

self had formed. All affairs, whether relating to war, to the revenue, or to the fortifications, passed through his hands. He was continually surrounded with warriors, artificers and workmen, without being embarrassed either with the number or diversity of affairs. His zeal for the service of the order, and the extent and quickness of his genius, made him equal to all these different employments.

The grand master being very old, and always infirm, had great need of such an assistant: he had been in a languishing condition for near a year together, when a dropsy carried him off. He died June 8, 1476, when they proceeded to the choice of a successor. Brother Raimond de Ricard, grand prior of St. Giles, who was, the preceding election, a competitor with the late grand master, was chosen to preside at that of his successor; and it was he who, after the usual ceremonies, notified to the assembly; that all the votes of the electors centered unanimously in the person of brother Peter d'Aubusson, grand prior of Auvergne, descended from the ancient viscounts of la Marche, and one of the most illustrious houses in France. It may be said, that, even before his election to the grand mastership, he was already their chief, in the good wishes of all the knights, as well as those of the people, who, upon the first news of it, made bonfires, and gave public testimonies of that unfeigned and sincere joy, which flows from the heart, and which politics and slavery can never counterfeit. So happy a choice inspired the most timorous with courage, and they were no longer afraid of Mahomet when they saw d'Aubusson at the head of affairs, with the reins of government in his hands.

His conduct fully answered the favourable opi-

nion they had conceived of him; and he employed his authority for the execution of all those projects, which he had before proposed as a simple member of the council. By his orders they made a great iron chain, to bar the entrance of the port; and, to prevent the descents and ravages of pirates in other parts of the island, he increased the number of the towers and forts that had been built along the coast. He did not confine his views and cares to the preservation of the isle of Rhodes alone: he sent strong reinforcements into the other isles belonging to the order; and from the same zeal and attention, he sent engineers to the castle of St. Peter, who, pursuant to the orders and plan that he delivered to them, hollowed the ditch to such a depth, that the sea flowed into it, and the feluccas and brigantines of the order entered without difficulty, and lay secure from the Turks and corsairs. While this worthy sovereign of the isle of Rhodes was thus taken up entirely with its defence, Michael Salomon, envoy of Loredan, general of the Venetians, arrived in the island, with orders to reclaim a Cypriot, called Riccio Marini, one of the most zealous servants of Charlotte de Lusignan.

We have already observed, that the crown of Cyprus, after continuing near three hundred years in the house of Lusignan, was usurped from Charlotte de Lusignan by her bastard brother; that the usurper, to make sure of the protection of the Venetians, had used solicitations to get a daughter of the family of Cornaro in marriage; and that the senate, to create themselves a right, or rather some pretensions to the kingdom, had granted her to him, and had given her a portion as a daughter of St. Mark. It is said, that to arrive sooner at this



succession, the bastard was poisoned; and an infant child that he left, did not survive him long. The Venetians, under pretence of protectorship, sent powerful succours into the island, which they soon conquered, in the name of the bastard's widow, to whom they left nothing of queen but the name, and some insignificant ornaments.

Nevertheless, Charlotte de Lusignan, the rightful heiress of the crown, had always some secret adherents within the kingdom. Several schemes were formed to expel the Venetians, but they miscarried by reason of the experience and forces of the captains of that republic. The chiefs of queen Charlotte's party were obliged to quit the isle. Every one fled for refuge where he thought he could find protection, and live in the greatest security. Riccio Marini, one of those chiefs, had retired to Rhodes. This was the occasion of Salomen's embassy; he came to demand him of the grand master, as a seditious person and a rebel; presenting him, at the same time, in the doge's name, a letter full of menaces: and Loredan's envoy, added with no little arrogance, that as the most serene republic had adopted Catharine Cornaro, it would consider all those as her enemies, who should favour the partizans of Charlotte de Lusignan.

They were not used at Rhodes to hear ambassadors speak with so much arrogance. Besides the continual services which the order was doing to the republic, the knights of Rhodes did not think themselves inferior either in dignity or in forces to the gentlemen of Venice; and some of the most high spirited of this noble body of knights were for sending back Loredan's agent without an answer.

If the grand master had given way to those first

emotions of a secret inclination, which had attached him formerly to the person and interests of Charlotte de Lusignan, he would have answered the Venetian general's envoy with the same haughtiness, and with a courage which were both natural to him. But what might in a private knight be considered as generosity, was not proper for a sovereign, who ought to shape his conduct entirely to the interest of his state: so that the grand master, in order not to bring new enemies upon him, when he was expecting to have all the forces of Mahomet fall upon the isle of Rhodes, qualified his answer in such a manner, that without either granting any thing to the envoy of the Venetians, or incensing them by high words, he took care to maintain the rights of his dignity, and the liberty of his territories. He told him, that the order, pursuant to its statutes, never intermeddled in the differences and wars that arose between Christians, that he required him to tell his general, that at Rhodes they neither received seditious persons or rebels: but, as was practised in every free and independent country, they did not drive away those whose private misfortunes obliged them to take refuge there, and who behaved like men of honour and good Christians. With this answer he dismissed the minister.

Scarce was this envoy gone from Rhodes when another arrived, sent by the soubachi or lieutenant to the governor of Lycia, a province in the neighbourhood of the isle of Rhodes. That infidel commander, whose cruelty had no restraint but what arose from his natural avarice, had a great many Christians and subjects of the order in his prisons: and as he lost some or other of them every day by the severity and miseries of the slavery they en-

dured, he resolved, contrary to the custom of his nation, to treat for their liberty. There were however suspicions, that this envoy's voyage was only a pretext invented by Mahomet to get an opportunity for a person to view the fortifications of Rhodes. Nevertheless, as the grand master had nothing more at heart than the liberty of his brother knights, he readily entered into a negociation; this was the occasion of several voyages that the envoy made to Rhodes.

The grand master, eager to recover those knights, and desirous at the same time to put an end to such voyages, smoothed every difficulty. Besides the sums necessary for the ransom of the slaves, which he furnished out of his own purse, he also sent noble presents to the soubachi; and when the negotiator brought the knights back, his recompense was not forgot. The grand master embraced them one after another. Never did a tender mother, who, after a long absence, sees her only son in her arms again, discover more sensible demonstrations of joy. The knights kissed his hands, bathed them with their tears, embraced his feet, and by those mute transports, which affect the heart in the most sensible manner, endeavoured to express their acknowledgments. They called him their father and their saviour. The grand master declined these titles with great modesty. "It is to the order, my children," said he to them, "that you owe these expressions of your acknowledgment; and I hope you will make it an ample return, by exerting your ordinary valour against the enterprises of Mahomet, who daily threatens us with a siege."

He had received advices to this purpose from several quarters. The order never had before a grand

master who expended such considerable sums, or employed them so usefully in spies. He kept some even within the walls of the seraglio. By advices from them he learned, that the Venetians were, without the knowledge of their allies, negotiating secretly a separate peace with the porte. He knew likewise from public accounts, that the king of Persia, Ussan-Cassau, the most potent of Mahomet's enemies, being worn out with years and the fatigues of war, stood only on the defensive, without attempting any thing against the Turks. He saw that the Christian princes, according to their constant custom, were tearing each other to pieces; and that Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, was making a bloody war against the emperor Frederic: from whence he concluded, that Mahomet would take advantage of these divisions, and infallibly turn his arms the next year against the isle of Rhodes.

The grand master, in order not to be unprepared, stored the magazines with ammunition and provisions; and the isle of Rhodes not having a sufficient number of knights for its defence, he called a general chapter, and in the summons directed to the grand priors, he ordered all the knights to repair immediately to Rhodes with their arms, and in an equipage suitable to their profession. We find a copy of this summons in Italian in Bosio's history; the original is still preserved in the archives of Malta, and we believe the reader will not be displeased to see an extract of it in this place.

“MY DEAREST BRETHREN,

In the midst of the greatest dangers with which Rhodes is threatened, we have thought that no succour was more to be depended on than a gene-

ral summons, and a speedy assembly of all our brethren. The enemy is at our gates; the proud Mahomet sets no bounds to his ambitious projects; his power becomes more formidable every day: he has an innumerable multitude of soldiers, excellent captains, and immense treasures: all this is designed against us; he is bent upon our destruction; I have the most certain advices of it. His troops are already in motion; the neighbouring provinces are filled with them; they are all filing down towards Caria and Lycia; a prodigious number of vessels and galleys wait only for the spring, and the return of fine weather, to pass into our island. What do we wait for? Can you be insensible that foreign succours, which are generally very weak, and always uncertain, are at a distance from us? We have no resource but in our own valour, and we are ruined if we do not save ourselves. The solemn vows that ye have made, my brethren, oblige you to quit all, to obey our orders. It is in virtue of those holy promises, made to the God of heaven before his altar, that I now summon you. Return without losing a moment into our dominions, or rather into your own; hasten with equal zeal and courage to the succour of the order. It is your mother that calls to you; it is a tender mother that has nursed and brought you up in her bosom that is now in danger. Is it possible there should be found one single knight unnatural enough to abandon her to the fury of the barbarians? No, my brethren, I have no apprehensions of that kind. Sentiments so mean and impious are not at all agreeable to the nobleness of your extraction, and are still more inconsistent with the piety and valour that you profess."

This summons, dispersed over Europe, raised the zeal and ardour of the knights. They set eagerly about preparing their equipages: To raise money with the greater expedition, they sold their household goods; they let and farmed out their commandries at low rates; every one took measures for his passage: and they principally feared their not arriving soon enough at Rhodes. Some sovereigns, edified with their zeal, sent several kinds of succour thither. The most considerable came from France. Lewis XI., who was then on the throne, prevailed with pope Sixtus IV. to grant a jubilee and indulgences to all persons who should assist the knights. This jubilee raised considerable sums in a very short time, which were remitted immediately into the East, and were by the grand master's orders, employed in raising some new fortifications, which he thought proper to make about the castle and bulwarks of the city of Rhodes.

Mahomet heard with no little uneasiness, that they had penetrated into his designs; and to hinder this discovery from putting the Christian princes in motion, and producing at last some formidable league against him, he tried, under colour of a negotiation of peace with the grand master, and by an embassy that should make a noise in the world, to cool the zeal of such as were preparing to take arms. But as he was the proudest of men, he would not expose himself to a refusal from the knights, and therefore gave that commission to prince Zem or Zizim, one of his children, and Cheleby his nephew, whose government lay near Rhodes, ordering them to employ in this negotiation a renegado Greek, Demetrius Sophian, a person of whose address and capacity he was thoroughly satisfied.

The two Turkish princes, pursuant to the orders they had received from the grand seignior, sent d'Aubusson a letter, full of expressions of esteem for his person, and for all the knights of his order. It was even filled with flattering compliments, a stile very seldom used by those barbarians: and the princes concluded it with inviting him to make a solid peace with his highness, for which they offered their mediation and credit at the porte.

The renegado Greek was entrusted with this letter and the negociation, the secret of which was confided to him only; and that even the two young princes themselves knew nothing of it. He came to Rhodes, presented his credentials to the grand master, and, when they were entering upon the negociation, he represented, that the only thing the grand seignior insisted on, in order to make a solid and lasting peace between them, was a small tribute. To engage him to agree to it the more readily, he urged farther, that the senate of Venice, to obtain the like treaty, had made no difficulty to oblige themselves to send eight thousand ducats of gold every year to the porte; but that he should get off at a much cheaper rate, though, says he, there is no paying too dear for the friendship of so potent a prince that makes all others tremble.

The grand master had already received advice of the renegado's embassy from the spies that he kept in Constantinople, and also that the design of it was only to lull him into security, and surprise him: so that to make advantage of it, and employ against Mahomet the artifice he made use of to deceive him, he prudently dissembled his knowledge of it. He even showed an entire confidence in the ambassador's word, and told him, that he should be

greatly pleased if he could come to a solid peace with the grand seignior; but added, that his order being under the particular protection of the sovereign pontiff of the Christians, and possessed of great estates in the dominions of most of the princes of Europe, he could conclude nothing without their participation: however, he did not believe that they would oppose a treaty which would establish a solid peace between the two powers; that he was likewise persuaded the council of the order would readily come into it; but in order to obtain the consent of the knights, there must not be any mention made of a tribute, the very name of which was odious to them: that he was nevertheless going to write about it immediately to Rome, and to dispatch ambassadors into all the courts of Christendom, and desired only three months time to receive answers from thence.

The grand master, who was a person of excellent abilities, was desirous to obtain time enough, and a free passage for the knights, who were at a distance, to repair to Rhodes; and therefore added, with a specious sincerity, that in the favourable disposition in which the grand seignior seemed of treating in good earnest with the order, he fancied it would be for both their interests, and also prevent their exasperating one another by any new enterprises, to make a suspension of arms, and restore a liberty of commerce between their subjects, at least for the three months which he demanded for the obtaining of answers from Europe.

The grand master, after this conference, and not to keep a renegado, whom he looked upon as a spy, any longer in Rhodes, dismissed him, giving him a letter for the two young Ottoman princes, wherein,



after answering their civilities with all the politeness that was proper for him to make use of, he added, agreeably to what he had told their ambassador, that he could not conclude a treaty of that importance without the participation of the pope, and most of the princes of Christendom.

The ambassador, upon his return, gave the two Ottoman princes an account of his negotiation. He told them, that he found the grand master would willingly treat of peace, but made them sensible, that that prince would never consent to the payment of any tribute, and that he would be disowned by his own order if he should consent to it. The two princes, who thought they should make their court to Mahomet by forwarding the negotiation, and indeed acted in it *bona fide*, sent the ambassador back, with orders to alter the name of tribute to that of a present, the worth and value of which should be settled by the knights themselves. They gave him commission at the same time to conclude a suspension of arms for the time that the grand master insisted on. D'Ambussen being well informed, that their design was to amuse him by these different proposals, was very firm in rejecting the conditions of a present, and of every thing that had the air of a tribute; and demanded only the necessary time to learn the intentions of the pope and the Christian princes, in hopes of getting succours from Europe. The Greek, not able to get any more, concluded, in order to keep the negotiation still on foot, the suspension of arms and liberty of commerce with him, which was afterwards confirmed by a second ambassador sent to Rhodes by Mahomet himself.

Though this prince, presuming upon his strength,

usually carried on his enterprises with an air of pomp and haughtiness, he nevertheless thought proper, on this occasion, to make use of such artifices, in order that the news of this negotiation might pass into Europe, and that the hopes of an approaching peace, which his emissaries took care to spread, might cool the zeal of the Christian princes, and abate the eagerness of the knights. This was the end he proposed by his insidious conduct. The grand master, on his side, appeared indeed ready to hear his proposals, but did it only with a view of facilitating the passage of the knights, and to gain time to carry on other treaties that were fully as important, more to be depended on, and which were, at that time, actually negotiating at Rhodes.

There was in this city an envoy of the sultan of Egypt, Denan Dieder by name, and who, at the same time, was his favourite. He came to renew the ancient treaties of peace with the knights. The reader may have observed, in the course of this history, that the order of St. John, from its first foundation, had two sorts of enemies to oppose, both of them Mahometans, and equally formidable. The first were the Arabians or Saracens of Egypt, who had taken from the Christians, as has been seen, Palestine, Phœnicia, and part of Syria. The Turks of the Ottoman race, ever since the conquest of Rhodes by the knights, became likewise their professed enemies: and sometimes these two enemies, though jealous of one another, had joined their forces against a military order, which, with its fleets and galleys, disturbed the commerce of their merchants, and the enterprises of their domains. But the forces of the order not being sufficient to resist both these potentates at the same time, the grand masters

and the council had always carefully endeavoured to be at peace with one nation whenever they were at war with the other; by this wise policy balancing their power, and keeping their forces divided.

The report that Rhodes was threatened with a siege, being carried to Egypt, made the soldan fear lest Mahomet should succeed in his enterprise. Were he to have chosen his neighbours, he had rather have the weaker; and therefore to leave the knights under no apprehensions from him, he had sent his favourite to Rhodes, in order to renew the last treaties of peace with them. The grand master received the first overtures thereof with the greater pleasure, as he plainly saw the soldan's own interest would be sufficient to make the new treaty lasting.

Thus they entered on business with mutual confidence; and, after some conferences, they agreed, that the vessels of the order should not, in future, molest those of Egypt, and that the knights should not suffer their subjects to serve for soldiers, pilots or guides, to the soldan's enemies. The soldan, by a reciprocal stipulation, engaged to undertake nothing contrary to the interests of the grand master, and promised, that the vessels of the order should be well received in his ports; that if they were pursued by their enemies, the Saracens should be bound to defend them; that when the subjects of the grand master should pass through the soldan's territories, in their way to the Holy Land, they should not exact any duty from them; that they should not detain any Christian slave after he was set at liberty by his master or patron; and that, with regard to other Christian slaves, they should be exchanged for Saracens who were in slavery at Rhodes, by a Saracen for a Christian.

The grand master made a treaty with the king of Tunis, another Mahometan-prince, almost on the same conditions, with this addition only, that the order might, whenever it had occasion, take up in his dominions thirty thousand hogsheads\* of corn, free of any duty whatever.

During these several negotiations a great number of knights, from all parts of Christendom, arrived at Rhodes; but as they were still expecting a greater number, the chapter was prorogued till the 28th of October, when the grand master opened it. "Generous knights," said he to them, "an occasion has at last presented itself for you to show your zeal and courage against the enemies of the faith. In this holy war Jesus Christ himself will be your leader; he will never, my brethren, abandon such as fight in his service. In vain does Mahomet, that impious prince, who acknowledges no deity but his own power, boast that he will extirpate our order. If he hath more numerous troops than we, they are composed only of a vile set of slaves, whom they are forced to drag into dangers, and that expose themselves to death, only to avoid one which they are threatened with by their officers: whereas I see none in your illustrious body but gentlemen of noble birth, educated in virtue, resolute either to vanquish or die, and whose piety and valour are certain pledges of victory."

The knights that composed the assembly, made no other answer to this moving discourse, than by declaring their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the order; and, that the service might not suffer or be retarded, through the

\* The original is thirty thousand muids, each of which is about five quarters, or a comb and a bushel.

diversity of commanding officers, and the slowness of councils, the whole chapter begged the grand master to take upon himself the command of the forces, the administration of the revenue, and to exercise both with an absolute authority. This was a sort of dictatorship, which they thought fit to invest him with, till such time as the storm which Mahomet threatened the order with, was blown over. The grand master would have declined so vast and unusual a power from modesty, and represented to them, that those different employments, would be better filled, if divided between several knights: but the whole chapter had such a confidence in his capacity, and the zeal he had shown for the good of the order, and made him such pressing instances to accept it, that he found himself unable to resist them.

The first use he made of his authority was, to name four general officers, whom they called at that time auxiliary captains, or adjutant-generals, who were each of them to command in the quarter assigned them. He chose for these several employments the hospitaller, the admiral, the chancellor, and the treasurer of the order: and the chevalier Rodolph de Wurtemberg, grand prior of Brandenburg, was chosen general of the cavalry. The grand master, at the head of these officers, was every day visiting the fortifications and outworks of the place.

By his orders they pulled down all the country-houses that stood too near it: they cut down the trees, and even demolished the churches of St. Anthony and Notre Dame of Philermes, which would have been serviceable to the enemy in the siege. The Rhodians could not see their country-houses,

and the delicious gardens that lay all round the town destroyed, without feeling a sensible concern; but the public safety prevailed over all other considerations, so that nothing was spared; but before they destroyed the church of our lady of Philermè, they removed thence an image of the Virgin, which had been kept there from time immemorial, and carried it to the principal church of the city.

The grand master, to leave no forage or pasture for the enemy's cavalry, caused all the corn of the country to be cut down, and assigned the peasants of each quarter particular forts, to which, upon the arrival of the infidels, they might respectively retire. The same genius for providing against every thing that might happen, made him, as he surveyed the sea-shore, examine the places from whence they might best oppose the descents of the enemy; those where it would be most proper for them to intrench themselves, if they should happen to be too hard pressed; the cuts and intrenchments they might be obliged to make behind the walls, if they should be beaten down by the force of the artillery. His views were too extensive and too just to overlook any thing: the fortifications, artillery, arms, provisions and revenue, every thing passed under his inspection, and his care extended to the meanest of the inhabitants, to provide for their subsistence as well as for that of the knights and troops which composed the garrison.

Happily for his assistance in dispatching so great a variety of business, besides a great number of knights of all nations, already arrived at Rhodes, there also came thither Bertrand de Cluys, grand prior of France, Charles de Montholon, and several other knights of the three languages of that king-

dom. They were soon followed by brother John Daw, great bailiff of Germany, who arrived at Rhodes with a number of commanders and knights of his nation, and a body of troops, which was more considerable for the valour of the soldiers of which it was composed, than their number. Some noblemen and gentlemen of France, on the first news they had of Rhodes being threatened with a siege, hastened thither, out of a principle of generosity, with a train of attendants suitable to their quality. In the list of these noble warriors are reckoned Anthony d'Aubusson, vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's elder brother. These lords descended by their father's side in the male line from Raimond, seignior of Monteil-au-vicomte and la Feuillade, second son of Renaud the seventh of the name, vicomte d'Aubusson, whose grandfather in the eighth degree of ascent was Renaud d'Aubusson, the first of that name, and elder brother of Turpind'Aubusson, who, in consideration of his piety and noble extraction, was elected bishop of Limoges in the year 898, as Aimar de Chabanois relates in his Chronicle. His mother was of the house of Combron, a most illustrious and very powerful family, and allied to several sovereign princes.

The vicomte d'Aubusson was accompanied by Lewis de Craon, a nobleman of one of the first families of Anjou, and by Benedict Scaliger or della Scala, whose ancestors had been sovereigns of Verona; this lord brought several companies of foot with him from Italy, at his own expence, to the assistance of the order. Among these brave adventurers were likewise Lewis Sanguin of Paris, Claude Colomb of Bourdeaux, Matthew Brangelier of Perigord, and Charles de Roi of Dijon. The grand

master, at the request of the council, gave the general direction of military affairs to the vicomte de Monteil, and assigned particular quarters for the other volunteers to defend. An heroic emulation soon arose between the secular knights and the knights of the order; and the same emulation broke out between the Greek and Latin inhabitants, and passed afterwards to the very women and children, who vied with one another in working at the intrenchments which the grand master had ordered to be made.

These knights and gallant volunteers, inflamed with a desire of meeting with an opportunity to signalize themselves, expected the arrival of the infidels with impatience; but they did not wait for them long. Mahomet grew weary of dissembling, and acting a part so contrary to his natural character. He declared openly the design he had formed of attacking the isle of Rhodes, the conquest whereof he looked upon as a foundation for that of all Asia, which his ambition grasped after, as what would give the finishing stroke to his glory.

He was strongly confirmed in this design by the grand vizier, or first basha, as he was styled at that time, called Misach Paleologus. This vizier was a Greek prince of the imperial family, born a Christian, but who, upon the taking of Constantinople, had turned Mahometan, to prevent his being put to death, a punishment which Mahomet inflicted on all the heirs of the empire. His valour, his services, his address, and his entire complaisance to all the sultan's inclinations, raised him to the dignity of vizier; and, that that prince might not have the least suspicion, on account of having changed his religion, he affected to show himself an implacable



enemy to all Christian princes, especially to the grand master and the knights of Rhodes.

In order to facilitate his master's conquest of that island, he brought to his court three famous renegadoes, who had drawn the plan of it. The first was Anthony Meligallo, of the city of Rhodes, and of a noble family; but having spent his patrimony and the inheritance of his fathers in luxury and debauchery, he flattered himself with the hopes of some advantages by the change of his religion. The second was Demetrius Sophian, who Mahomet employed to carry sultan 'Zizim's letters to Rhodes, a man very fit for negotiations, suspected of dealing in magic, and of applying himself to the search of those parts of knowledge, which some whimsical people call the occult sciences. The third of these renegadoes was George Frapan, a German engineer, commonly called Master George, a good geometer, and particularly distinguished by his talents in the management of artillery. Mahomet, who spared nothing to engage such men in his service as might be useful to him, gave him a considerable pension. The German had, by his order, surveyed most of the Christians strong places, upon which the sultan could have any design; had drawn plans of them, and had brought him a very exact one of the city of Rhodes and the adjacent parts.

The basha, to flatter the inclinations of the sultan, spoke to him of these three renegadoes, as of persons very proper to give success to his designs. Mahomet sent for them, when, upon their being introduced into his presence, they, in order to make themselves more agreeable, in concert with the minister, told him, that the greatest part of the walls of Rhodes were falling down; that there was

a great scarcity of ammunition in the place; and that the pretended succours from Europe, with the hopes of which the knights flattered themselves, were very uncertain, by reason of the continual wars between the Christian princes. Each of the three renegadoes presented him with a plan of the city of Rhodes: that of the German was found to be the most regular; and it was upon this plan that the sultan regulated the order of the attacks, and every thing that was to be executed, in order to succeed in so important an enterprise.

The sultan, hurried away by his impatience, would needs have the basha set out, and without waiting for the great army, go in person to reconnoitre the place. Upon which he commanded him to embark forthwith aboard some light frigates and vessels of low decks, with some companies of janizaries and spahis. He was followed by the three renegadoes, to whom that prince promised a noble reward, provided they could but contribute to make him master of Rhodes. In their passage the Rhodian Meligalle, who had been infirm for a long time, was seized with a loathsome illness: his flesh was covered with ulcers, and fell off piece-meal; and before he expired, he was in a manner buried in rottenness and corruption.

In the mean time the basha Paleologus appeared in sight of the isle of Rhodes, and on the fourth of December came to an anchor off the fortress of Fano. He immediately landed some companies of spahi to reconnoitre, pursuant to his instructions, and see if he could make a descent in that place himself. The bailiff of Brandenburg, who commanded the light horse of the order, suffered these scouts, who were very thirsty of plunder, to advance into

the country, where he fell upon them, killed part of them, drove the rest before him to the sea side, and forced them to re-embark. The basha, after having taken them on board, put off to sea; and that he might not lie idle with his master's troops, whilst he waited for the coming up of the great fleet, he attempted a descent on the isle of Tilo, which belonged to the order. The inhabitants of the open country took refuge in the fortress, where there was a strong garrison, consisting chiefly of knights.

Paleologus battered the place with all his artillery for eight days together; the breach appearing practicable, he ordered the spahi to alight, and led them on himself to the assault. He flattered himself that he should carry the castle in a moment; but he had not yet tried the valour of the defendants. The knights made so vigorous a resistance, that the basha, after seeing the bravest of his men drop at the foot of the walls, was obliged to sound a retreat. He saw plainly, from the courage of the besieged, that if he should persist in his obstinacy of carrying on the siege, he would be obliged to begin it in form with opening trenches, and proceed in the ordinary rules of war. But not having a body of troops sufficient for such an enterprise, and the weather not being favourable, he raised the siege with greater shame than loss, re-embarked a second time, and arrived at the port of Phisco in Lycia, situated twenty-two, others say eighteen miles from Rhodes. This was the rendezvous for the main fleet and for the land forces, which were quartered in that and the adjoining provinces till the return of the spring.

It was not till the latter end of April that the

main fleet of the infidels set sail from Gallipolli, passed the Hellespont, entered the river of Lycia, and came in sight of the isle of Rhodes. The guard posted on the top of mount St. Stephen made the signal to give notice that it was in sight. The grand master hastened thither immediately with the principal sea officers, who judged by its working that it was going to the port of Phisco, there to take on board the troops that were in the adjacent parts. The event showed that this conjecture was just and well founded, for it was in this port that the embarkation was made. They reckoned in this fleet a hundred and sixty vessels with high decks, besides feluccas, galliots, flat-bottomed vessels and transports: and spoke of the land-forces as making at least a hundred thousand men. This formidable armado arrived at last before Rhodes, on May 23, 1480.

We have already taken notice of the situation of this island, on occasion of the conquest which the knights made of it under the mastership of Fulk de Villaret; so that to give a clear notion of what follows, we need only remark, that the capital of the isle, which bears the same name, is situated by the sea-side, upon the side of a hill, which at that time was planted with orange trees, pomegranates, excellent muscadine grapes, and vines of various sorts. The place had a double wall about it, and was fortified with great towers at proper distances. These walls and towers were sustained on the inside of the town by a rampart, and on the outside there was a very broad and deep ditch. There were two ports belonging to it, of which the first that we meet with in coming to land there, served to secure the galleys, and the mouth of it was defended by a

platform, upon which there was a tower looking to the east, and called Fort St. Elme. The great ships lay in the other port, which was fortified with two towers; the one called the tower of St. John, and the other St. Michael's tower. They pretend, that the two feet of the famous Colossus of brass, which passed for one of the seven wonders of the world, were formerly placed on the very spot where these two towers stand, on two rocks that are over against one another. Near this port there are two little bays, one of them looking to the north, and the other to the south: that which looks to the north had its entrance commanded by a mole, which ran out above three hundred paces into the sea; it was at the further end of this mole that the grand master Zacosta built the fortress, which was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that saint, and inclosed within the walls of the fort. At the extremity of the other bay, towards the south, there is another tower, but not so considerable as the first: however, it served well enough on its side to defend the entrance of the port. This tower hindered any vessel from either going in or coming out of it. Two miles from the town was the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, and a little further, but on another side, was mount Philermé, famous for the devotion of the people of the island, and other Christian people in the neighbourhood, who came in pilgrimage to visit the church that was built there in honour of the holy virgin. Such was the situation of the city of Rhodes, and the parts adjacent, when it was besieged by the basha Paleologus.

The sea near the shore was then covered with the fleet of the Turks, who made continual discharges of their artillery, in order to favour their

descent. They were answered by the cannon of the city and the forts; and the knights advanced sword in hand in the water up to the middle, to prevent and stop the Turks from landing. Much blood was spilt on this first occasion; but in spite of all the efforts of the Christians, their bravery was forced to yield to the numberless multitudes of the infidels. Those barbarians divided their troops; and whilst a part of them employed all the forces of the knights, the greater number landed in crowds in remote places, where there was less opposition. At length the whole army landed; they advanced to the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, where they immediately intrenched themselves; and after landing their artillery sent to summons the place, using both threats and promises, which were slighted alike.

Several detachments of infidels appeared soon after in the plain: the principal commanders, that were at their head, advanced to reconnoitre the fortifications of the place. There was no approaching them without danger, and the vigorous sallies that were made obliged them to take to their heels, and fly back to their camp. In one of these sallies, wherein the vicomte de Monteil, the grand master's brother, commanded, the renegado Demetrius lost his life. His horse was killed under him; he fell to the ground; and the weight of his armour hindering him from rising, some squadrons, that were in pursuit of the enemy, rode over him, and crushed him to death. The order also, on this occasion, lost the chevalier de Murat, of the language of Auvergne, and of the illustrious house of la Tour, who, pushing the infidels with more eagerness than prudence, was surrounded by a squadron of spahi, who cut off his head.

From these light skirmishes, which were of no great moment on either side, it was necessary to come to more regular attacks. The German engineer, after having viewed all the outworks of the place, advised the basha to make his first attack on the tower of St. Nicholas, flattering him with the hopes of being soon master of the port and city, provided he could once take that fortress. Paleologus, following his advice, planted immediately a battery of three large pieces of cannon, near the church of St. Anthony, which began to batter the tower. The grand master, on his side, ordered a counter-battery to be raised in the garden of the language of Auvergne, which made full as great a fire: and the gunners on both sides did all they could to dismount the cannon on the opposite batteries. This, however, was but a slight prelude to the terrible thunder that was heard, when the basha had erected all his batteries, and planted on them that prodigious number of cannon of all sizes, which he had ordered to be brought into his camp.

The German engineer, to join artifice to open force, and find means to reconnoitre the weak places of the town, concerting the matter first with the Turkish general, presented himself the next day as a deserter on the edge of the ditch, and in a suppliant manner, as if he was afraid of being taken, begged the guard to open him the wicket that moment.\* The grand master having notice of it, ordered him to be let in, and he was conducted directly to his palace. He was a tall handsome man, had a good air, was subtle in his discourse, and concealed under an ingenuous outside all the address of a cunning and deceitful villain.

\* Relation de Merry de Dupuy, p. 17.

The grand master, who had the council of the order about him, asked him the reason why he had quitted the service of so potent a prince as Mahomet, especially when he exposed himself, if the place was taken, to the cruel tortures and executions with which they punished deserters. The perfidious German, without changing colour, and with that air of sincerity which peculiarly distinguishes his nation, dissembled his change of religion, and answered that he was a Christian; that greediness of gain and hope of reward had engaged him, as they had several other Christians, to follow the grand seignior's standard; but that ever since that prince's army was landed in the isle of Rhodes, he had felt such a terrible remorse of conscience, that he was not able to bear the reproaches of it any longer, and was therefore come cordially to offer him his service, and to sacrifice his life in the defence of Rhodes and the order.

The grand master, though always on his guard against deserters, did not discover the least signs of diffidence; on the contrary, he extolled the pious motives that had brought him back into the service of Christian princes; and then asked him, with all the show and air of confidence imaginable, what might be the designs, and also the number of the forces of the basha.

"The basha," replied the German, "hath but too plainly declared his own designs, and those of his master, by his attacks. As for his forces, you yourself may have seen how numerous and formidable his fleet is. The land forces consist of above an hundred thousand men, most of them old soldiers, who have followed Amurath and Mahomet his son in all their conquests. But his artillery is what a



besieged town ought to dread the most. Never had any general so vast a number of cannon in his army, and at the same time so well managed; and besides his ordinary cannon, he has, since his arrival in the island, caused sixteen pieces of great cannon to be cast, called Basilisks or double cannon, eighteen feet long, and carrying ball of two or three feet diameter." He continued further to say, that his mortars were altogether as dreadful in their effects, and that they threw stones of a prodigious bulk. "You will feel immediately," said he, "the fury of those infernal machines, against which you cannot take your precautions too soon." To gain the grand master's confidence, and make that confidence a step to the treason he designed, he gave him several advices of great importance for the defence of the place, and which in the event proved very useful.

Several lords of the council, who heard him, thought the villain very sincere in all he said; others, who remembered they had seen him formerly in that very city of Rhodes, told the master privately, that he had ever since that time been considered as an adventurer, and a vagabond that had no religion, and was capable of doing and attempting any thing for money. This made an impression; but what completed to make him suspected was, that they shot at the same time into the town billets fixed to arrows, which had only these words wrote in them, "Beware of Master George." These were immediately carried to the grand master; and some in the council, in their plain way of thinking, attributed these advices to the grand seignior's Christian subjects, whom he forced to serve in his armies, Others maintained,

that it might be an artifice of the basha's, who affected to discredit his spy, in order to recommend him the more to the confidence of the knights. The grand master, that he might run no hazard, and at the same time make, if possible, an advantage of the talents of this engineer, ordered the officers of the artillery to get out of him whatever might be useful for the defence of the place, but at the same time to watch him as a spy. And in order to prevent his getting out of the city, or holding any correspondence with the Turks, he set six soldiers as a guard over him, who never lost sight of him wherever he went. The German, pursuant to his orders, endeavoured to reconnoitre the weakest places of the town; but as soon as he came near a bulwark or a bastion, he was always accosted by some commander, who, with a cold and severe air, asked him what he wanted: so that fearing to render himself suspected, and to be treated as a spy, he kept himself retired in the lodging that was assigned him.

The basha, whilst he was waiting the success of his treason, and their mutual intelligence,\* continued battering the tower of St. Nicholas with his heaviest artillery: they fired above three hundred cannon shot against it: the side towards the sea, which was strengthened with a rampart, bore the brunt of the artillery very well; but that part of the wall, which was over against the town, was entirely beaten down. The stones and rubbish, by a lucky accident, stopped at the foot of the wall, heaped one upon another, but in the form of a slope, so that it served on the outside as a second wall.

The grand master, however, knowing that the

\* Caoursin, p. 3.

safety of the town depended on the preservation of this fort, sent the flower of the knights into it, under the conduct of the commander Caretto, of the language of Italy, a knight of approved valour, and considered as one of the first of the order. These gallant knights worked night and day to intrench themselves, and raised batteries to defend the breach. The grand master, observing that in certain places the sea was sometimes so low, that the Turks might ford it, and get upon the mole, caused tables and planks, thick set with nails and iron spikes, to be thrown into the water, to spoil the bottom. At the same time they fitted out some fireships, at the foot of the rocks that lay about the tower, to set fire to the enemy's galleys, if they should offer to approach too near. A body of French and Spanish knights, by his order, posted themselves in the town ditch, in order to defend the approaches, or upon the least signal to throw themselves into the fort, and reinforce the garrison. After these precautions, the grand master, not willing to leave the defence of so important a place to the care of another, threw himself into it, with the viscount de Monteil his brother, and other volunteers, who would needs share with him in the manifest danger to which he was exposing himself.

And indeed the basha ordered the assault to be given the next day, which was the 9th of June; and two hours before day-break his galleys and light vessels, with a body of infantry aboard, advanced towards the tower with a favourable wind. They soon reached the mole; their soldiers leaped ashore with great shouts, and advanced boldly to the assault, in spite of all the fire made from several batteries that played upon them. The difficulty

of mounting the breach obliged them to make use of ladders; they placed them with an air of intrepidity to that heap of stones which the cannon had beaten down, and which served as a fore wall to the place, and mounted to the storm sword in hand, with a resolution sufficient to astonish any other men but the knights. The grand master was upon the breach, and performed the office of a captain and a soldier at one and the same time. His armour was pierced through in several places in this engagement, and a shard of a stone having carried off his helmet without wounding him, he, without any concern, took off the hat of the first soldier that stood next him. The fear of other accidents still more fatal, made the knights, who knew not what it was to tremble for themselves, to be under the greatest apprehensions for the safety of the grand master: and the commander Caretto, begging him with great respect, in the name of the whole order, to retire, and leave the care of defending the breach to his knights, "This," says he to him, "is the post of honour that belongs to your grand master:" then turning towards Caretto, "and if I am killed there," added he with a smile, "you have more to hope than I have to fear:" giving him thereby to understand, that his great valour made him think he merited to be his successor.

The knights following the example, and fighting in the presence of the grand master, lined the breach; and, for want of a wall, made a rampart with their bodies. Some overturn the scaling-ladders; others throw down masses of vast weight, that crush the assailants to pieces in their fall; nor are there wanting some, who throw fire works and boiling oil on the assailants: every one has a share

in the attack, and all exert themselves in a resistance that seems to be superior to human strength. The Turks do not appear any way daunted; not one of them draws back from danger. If the knights strike any of them down from the ladders, their places are immediately supplied by others, who press on to mount. Such as could not get to the posts of danger at the foot of the wall, fired upon the breach with their muskets, annoyed the knights with their arrows, or else tried to lay hold of them with cramp-irons fastened to cords, and so pull them down to the ground, in order to cut them to pieces.

It would be impossible to relate all the actions of the most finished valour that were performed by private persons of each party: history has not preserved the particulars of them. At length fire, whose strength is greater and more terrible than that of men, determined the fate of this furious attack. The fireships of the order, fastening themselves to several of the Turkish galleys, set them on fire; the cannon of the city played upon the rest; and the knights, whose force and courage seemed to redouble with the heat of the attack, made such a dreadful fire with their small shot, that the infidels, after the loss of their principal leaders, took to their heels, and, in their precipitate retreat, were drowned or killed in great numbers on the sea-shore, as they were crowding to get aboard their vessels.

This ill success, instead of daunting the basha, did but exasperate him the more against the knights. But, that he might not show an unreasonable obstinacy in continuing the attack of a place whither the grand master seemed to have drawn all his forces, he turned all his efforts against the body of

the place. By his orders two attacks were carried on at the same time, one against the quarter of the Jews, and the other towards the post of the Italian inn. But the latter was only a false attack; the true one was against the Jews wall: the basha raised several batteries to beat it down; and though, as historians of that time relate, it was twenty-eight feet thick, yet being old, and not strengthened by a rampart, the force of the artillery soon put it in a tottering condition. The grand master, in order to be provided for the Turks, if they should attempt a storm, ordered several houses to be pulled down, and dug a very broad and deep ditch on the spot where they stood, behind which they raised a new brick wall, sustained by a thick rampart, a work which seems incredible, considering the short time employed in finishing it. But as they all saw the necessity of it, and the danger the town was exposed to, every body worked at it with equal ardour. The grand master, and the most ancient commanders by his example, performed the office of workmen and pioneers. All the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex or condition, worked night and day: and the Greeks and Latins, who had such frequent disputes in time of peace, now laid all aside, except that of a generous emulation, in striving who should first finish the task they had taken upon themselves. The Jewish women, as well as the Christian, being threatened with an odious slavery, and dreading still more the indignities they should be exposed to, if the city should be taken by storm, drudged at the work as well as the men. The very nuns came out of their convents, and assisted the workmen with an incredible zeal. Every one was then a soldier or a pioneer. Every one

conspired and united in the defence of their common country; and it was owing to this general zeal, that the grand master was able, in so short a time, to finish such great works, which in any other juncture could not have been performed in several months.

In the mean time the artillery of the infidels was continually battering the wall; nothing could resist their basilisks and great cannon: and the noise of them was heard from the isle of Lango, which is one hundred miles to the west of Rhodes, to the isle of Chateauroux, which is the same distance from it to the east. Their mortars at the same time threw stones of prodigious size, which fell into the city, and, lighting upon houses, broke through the roofs, made their way through the several stories, and crushed to pieces all that they fell upon: no one was safe from them; and it was this kind of attack that gave the greatest terror to the Rhodians.

The grand master, to lodge the women and children especially in a place of security, ordered them to retire into a quarter of the city that lay farthest distant from the batteries, and was to the west between the houses and ramparts. On this place they laid great beams, by way of roof, and made it so substantial and thick, that there was no danger from the great stones: and to pay the basha in his own coin, the grand master, with the help of the most skilful engineers, set the carpenters of the town to make a wooden engine, that would also throw stones of a prodigious bulk: and these stones not only crushed all the soldiers to pieces that were within their reach, but their vast weight falling upon hollow ground, they broke through and killed the workmen in the bottom of their mines. The

knights, out of raillery, called this machine **THE TRIBUTE**, alluding to that which Mahomet demanded of the order, and giving him withal to understand, that he was to expect no other kind of payment.

In the mean time the general of the infidels pushed his approaches with vigour, and his artillery having made great breaches, he sent to reconnoitre them, in order to an assault. But he was strangely surprised to learn, that the knights had made a deep ditch, and raised a new wall behind the old one. He was likewise told by some deserters, that by the grand master's care and vigilance, the women and children especially had no occasion to dread the terrible effect of the stones, which now would fall only upon empty houses.

The basha, enraged to find in the grand master's single person continual obstacles to all his enterprises, resolved to get rid of him at any rate, and get him dispatched by dagger or poison. For the execution of this base design, he pitched upon two deserters of the garrison, who since their desertion had renounced the faith; the one a Dalmatian, and the other an Albanian. These two renegadoes, tempted by the alluring promises of the basha, and in concert with him, quitted his army, and got back into the town, as if they had made their escape out of the hands of the infidels, after having been taken in a sally. They received them into the place with joy, and without the least diffidence. The villains were already beginning to rejoice for the success which they expected in their undertaking; the Dalmatian, as they pretend, had actually bribed an inferior officer of his table, who only waited a favourable opportunity to execute the horrid conspi-



tacy. The Albanian, who was acquainted with the grand master's secretary, finding him discontented with that prince, was imprudent enough to open himself to him; and showing him letters sealed with the basha's seal, promised him the first dignities of the empire, and immense wealth, if he would execute what the Albanian proposed to him in his name. The secretary, who was a man of great honour, immediately discovered it to the grand master; upon which the Albanian was seized, and, being put to the torture, discovered his accomplice: but before they could be carried to the place of execution, they were both torn to pieces by the people.

The basha, not discouraged at the ill success of his shameful and abominable design, had again recourse to open force, and without quitting the attack of the Jews' quarter, he, by the advice of the principal officers of his army, resumed the first project of the German, and resolved to carry the tower of St. Nicholas.

A canal, which indeed was pretty narrow, ran between this tower and the place where the infidels were encamped; and in order to attack it, it was necessary to cross the canal, or that little arm of the sea, which is formed by one of the bays before-mentioned. The general of the galleys, the commander of the troops of Anatolia, and Merla Bey, son-in-law to one of Mahomet's sons, all officers of great experience and valour, undertook to make the attack, and land the troops necessary for the execution of it, upon the mole. For this purpose, they framed a bridge, which was to reach from St. Anthony's church to the tower; and for the guiding and placing one end of it upon the point of the mole of St. Nicholas, a Turkish engineer in the

night-time carried an anchor to the place, and fixed it to the foot of a rock which was covered with the sea; putting through the ring of the anchor a great cable, which was fixed to the head of the bridge, and was to make it go forwards by means of the capstan. But Gervase Rogers, an English seaman, whose name history has preserved, being accidentally on the place, and having observed all that the Turkish engineer did, without discovering himself, suffered him to go away to a distance, and then plunged into the sea, loosed the cable, which he left on the strand, and carried off the anchor, which he brought to the grand master, who gave him a very handsome reward. The Turks, when their bridge was got ready, endeavoured to make it go forwards by means of the cable; but soon found, by the ease which they had in pulling it, that their stratagem was discovered and disappointed.

The basha, disappointed in this expedient, got together a great number of boats to sustain this floating bridge, and tow it in the night to the side of the mole where it was to be fastened. The soldiers got upon the mole, and were filing continually one after another over the bridge, whilst the galliots, and other light vessels, at the same time landed several companies of the bravest troops of the army on the other side. They all flattered themselves with hopes of surprising the Christians; but d'Aubusson, who had foreseen this second attack, after having reinforced the garrison, and lined the wall with a body of intrepid musqueteers, and a good number of cannon, was expecting them resolutely on the breach. At the noise which the Turks made in getting upon the mole, they, by his order, made in the dark two such furious discharges on all sides,

which luckily took great effect, that abundance of the infidels were killed.

The basha, who was in person at the head of this enterprise, not to expose his soldiers longer to the fire of the fortress, made them advance to the foot of the fort, on that side where his artillery had made great breaches. They soon came to blows, and without any other light than what came from firepots, granadoes, and volleys of fire arms, a long and obstinate engagement ensued. The bridge and galliots supplied the Turks continually with fresh troops. Never did those infidels show more valour, and so absolute a courage. Some of them, by the help of their ladders, mounted to the top of the breach, and scorning to retire, chose rather to be killed than ask quarter. Merla Bey stood his ground almost alone, upon the ruins of the tower; and making himself a rampart with the bodies of the dead, and covered all over with wounds, he killed several knights with his own hand, but at last striking a soldier, who had just wounded him with his sabre, and whom he slew with the blow, he fell dead by his side. Nor was the combat upon the sea less furious. The fireships, which the grand master had prepared, grappled with the Turkish galleys that battered the fort, and set them on fire. The cries of those that crowded to get out of the fire that blazed about them; the smoke and roaring of the cannon; the groans of the wounded; the horror of the darkness, all was not able to damp the courage of the combatants: they all seemed resolved either to vanquish or die. The same valour and resolution was conspicuous on both sides. How many heroic actions hath the darkness of the night concealed from our knowledge! At length the day

appeared, and discovered the loss sustained by the infidels. The sea was covered with floating carcasses, bows, arrows, turbans, and the hulks of their galleys still in smoke. To make their calamities greater, the gunners of the fort, observing the enemy's bridge thronged with soldiers, crowding to the relief of their comrades, they levelled their cannon against it, and beat the bridge to pieces. The barbarians, not able any longer to bear up against the Christians, gave over the attack, regardless of the threats and intreaties of their officers, and fled for their lives to the vessels in which they first came.

Several knights at the head of the garrison pursued and cut a number of them to pieces. Merry or Mercedic du Puis, whom I have followed in several parts of this relation, tells us, that a Franciscan friar, Anthony Fradin, was one of the foremost in this pursuit; that he ran with a sabre in his hand into the sea, as high as his waist, to hinder the infidels from re-embarking; that he killed several of them; and that the infidels lost, in this engagement, above two thousand five hundred men. We may reasonably conclude, especially in a combat that was chiefly fought during the darkness of the night, that this could not have happened without the order's likewise losing several of its knights. It is, indeed, generally allowed that they were almost all wounded; but they did not reckon above twelve killed, who, with the loss of their lives, sealed the profession they made, of defending the order to the last drop of their blood.

This ill success threw the Turks into a consternation, which was succeeded by a melancholy silence for three days together all over the camp; they

sunk into a kind of indolence; the general himself was infected with it, and could not tell what resolution to take: but as he dreaded Mahomet's rage as much as he did the sword of the knights, he at last came out of this lethargy, and raising his spirits, applied himself again to the siege, and renewed his attacks with as much fury as ever. He had no encouragement to go on with that of the tower; he therefore returned to the posts of Italy and the Jews, which he battered again with all his artillery: but to conceal the place where he really designed his attack, he raised other batteries against different quarters of the walls. The historians of the siege tell us, that there were three thousand five hundred volleys made by these basilisks and great cannon, which quite battered down a great part of the walls, towers, and ravelins. These infernal machines had dreadful effects; but they were not his only way of attacking: he had soldiers and pioneers continually at work, some of whom carried earth and fascines to fill up the ditch, while some were digging under ground, and others pushing on the galleries, and preparing mines to blow up the fortifications that were left. The town was open on all sides; but, above all, the low town and the Jews quarter seemed the most ruined, and in the greatest danger.

In this extremity the knights that guarded the German engineer took him to the breach, showed him the ruins of it, the works of the besiegers, the condition of the ditch, which was in a manner filled up, and desired the assistance of his art against the danger they were in. At this sight, whatever dissimulation the traitor had practised since his being in the place, he yet could not help discovering an ill-natured satisfaction, when, immediately recol-

lecting himself, he returned to the part he acted, and pretended to lament the misfortune of Rhodes and the knights: "What succour," said he to them, "can you hope for in a place that is open on all sides, surrounded with a hundred thousand men ready to storm it, and which must infallibly be carried at the first assault?" However, to keep on playing his old game, he declared himself of opinion, that they should change the place of their batteries, and, by a new piece of treachery, which he had undoubtedly concerted with the basha before they parted, he got them to raise batteries in the weakest places of the town, to signify to the Turks where they should direct their own; and, under pretence of making himself serviceable, he would needs point and fire the cannon himself: but they soon found that he not only shot at random, but occasioned fresh cannonadings to be made against the place that he fired from. These different observations made him to be the more suspected. He was brought before the council of war; and faltering several times in his answers to the questions which the judges put to him, he was, in order to have his contradictions laid open, put to the torture, when he at last owned, that he came into the place by the express order of Mahomet, and that for no other end but to deliver it up, if he could, to the infidels; that though he was watched by the guards whom the grand master set over him, he had, nevertheless, found means to convey very useful intelligence to their camp; that this was not the first place he had betrayed, under pretence of a feigned repentance; and that he had himself been the sole occasion of the loss of an infinite number of Christians. His confession was brought to the grand master, who

immediately ordered the infamous villain to be executed.

But some Italian and Spanish knights did not fail to reflect upon what he had said of the danger the city was in, of being carried at the first assault; this, indeed, was but too visible: they communicated to each other their mutual fright: the cabal grew strong, and secret conferences were held, the result whereof was, that since there was no saving Rhodes, it was not just to sacrifice what knights were left, to the desperate humour of the grand master, a man who did not care to survive the loss of his principality; but that they, whatever he had resolved to the contrary, ought to save the knights and inhabitants by an honourable composition. These murmurs and scandalous projects soon reached the palace. The grand master had notice of them: he sent for these knights, and, as if he considered them no longer among the professed members of the order, "Gentlemen," said he to them, "if any of you think yourselves not safe in the place, the port is not yet so closely blocked up, but that you may find means to get out." Then, assuming an air of majesty, indignation and wrath, he added, "but if you think fit to stay with us, speak not a word more about a composition, for, if you do, your lives shall pay for it."

These terrible words filled those knights with shame and confusion: and they had a very happy effect, for they immediately called up in their minds all their brave and heroic sentiments. They detested their own weakness, and all promised to make atonement for it by the sacrifice of their blood, or that of the infidels: and they were afterwards always the first to expose themselves to the

greatest dangers. Nor would it have been possible for men of less resolution to have resisted the continual attacks of the Turks. The basha battered the city night and day without giving the besieged the least intermission: but as his principal design was to make the assault on the side of the Jews wall, and the ditch was still of a considerable depth, his soldiers, by his orders, and under the fire of his cannon, worked with so much ardour and success, that they at last filled it up, so that a squadron of horse might easily march over it into the town.

Every thing was ready for the assault. There were neither ditches, nor walls, nor towers, to hinder the Turks in making it. But the basha, who dreaded the heroic valour of the knights, more than he did the fortifications of art, and was for saving his troops, sent to the grand master to propose a conference, in hopes of prevailing with him to surrender rather than wait the last extremities. The grand master in order to gain time to make new intrenchments, was not averse to the proposal. The conference was held the next day by the ditch side. The basha was not there in person, but sent one of the principal officers of his army in his stead; and the grand master on his side,\* deputed brother Anthony Gaultier, castellan of Rhodes, for that purpose. The Turkish officer, laying aside that proud air and haughty way which Mahomet's formidable power generally inspired into his ministers, pressed the knights to prevent the calamities which usually attend a place taken by storm. He told the castellan, that a gallant defence justly deserved the esteem and praises even of the enemy, if they had any prospect of good success; but that valour

\* Dupuis, p. 67.



ought to have its bounds, and that it was not so much courage as rash madness to throw themselves into perils, out of which there was no possibility of escaping; that it was likewise a sort of inhumanity to involve innocent people therein, under pretence of defending them; that the walls of the town were demolished, the towers beaten down, the ditches filled up; that Rhodes in fine was no more, or at least was only a confused mass of rubbish and heap of ashes, which the basha could make himself master of in an assault of two hours continuance only. When putting on a soft and insinuating air, he begged of him to prevail with the grand master and the council to come to a prudent composition, and prevent a general massacre of the knights and inhabitants, the dishonour of the women and maidens, and all the horrors that are inseparable always from a place taken by storm, and sword in hand.

Though the grand master \* did not appear at this conference, he yet was not far off. He heard all the Turk's artful discourse; and by his orders the castellan of Rhodes answered, that the basha was very ill served by his spies, who had not given him a true account of the condition and forces of the place; that if the Turks durst make an assault, they would instead of a wall, find new ditches, works and intrenchments within, which would put them to the expense of a vast deal of blood before they could force them; but though they had not such obstacles to surmount, yet the city was strong enough as long as it was defended by the knights, who had all but one heart and one mind, and no view in nature but the defence of the faith, and the honour and glory of the order; and that men who

\* Caoursin, p. 10.

were not afraid of death, were a much stronger fortification than walls and bastions. Thus ended the conference; the Turkish envoy retired, and gave the basha to understand, that there was no depending on a composition, and that nothing but the force of arms could determine the fate of Rhodes,

The basha, vexed and ashamed that he had made such a step to no purpose, swore in the transports of his passion, that he would put all to the sword. They likewise sharpened a great number of stakes by his order, for impaling the knights and inhabitants; he promised the plunder of the city to his soldiers, and commanded ladders and the necessary machines for the assault to be carried to several places, in order to oblige the knights to divide their forces. But the true attack and main effort of his forces was directed against the Jews quarter, which was the most ruined. There were not the least footsteps of a wall to be seen in that place, as we have observed; the ditch was filled up, and to hinder the knights from making intrenchments, or even from appearing on the breaches, several batteries were kept firing a whole day and night without intermission, and carried off every thing that appeared upon them. In fine, the day following, July 27, a little after sun-rising, the Turks advance in good order, and with great silence, get out without making any noise upon the ramparts, and make themselves masters of them, without finding the least resistance. The Christians who stood upon their guard, had, to avoid the fury of the cannon that played continually, posted themselves at the bottom of a slope which was made by the rubbish of the wall on their side, and most of them being worn out with watching and fatigues were unluckily

asleep. The Turks proud of this beginning of success fix their colours, and fortify themselves in that post. The basha, agreeably surprised with this happy beginning, orders new troops to advance, so that the rampart was soon covered with them.

Rhodes would have been lost without an immediate succour, but the grand master having notice of the danger the place was in, ordered the great standard of the order to be immediately displayed, and turning himself towards the knights that he had kept about him, in order to march to the places which should be most pressed, "Let us go, my brethren," says he to them with a noble fortitude, "and fight for the faith and the defence of Rhodes, or bury ourselves in its ruins."\* He advances immediately in great haste at the head of those knights, and sees with surprise five-and-twenty hundred Turks masters of the breach, the rampart and all the platform about it. As the houses and streets were much lower, there was no going to them, or getting upon the rampart, but by two stair cases, which were then covered with the rubbish of the wall. The grand master takes a ladder, claps it himself to that heap of stones, and without regarding those that the enemies threw upon him, mounts first with a half-pike in his hand; the knights in imitation of his bravery, some with ladders, and others climbing up the rubbish, exert themselves to the utmost in following him, and get to the top of the rampart.

There was seen on this occasion, contrary to what is generally practised in sieges, the besieged themselves mounting to the assault, and the be-

\* Baptist Fulgosius de dictis factisque memorabilibus collectionem, Lib. 3. particula penultima.

siegers standing on the defensive. The infidels repulse the Christians with their musket-shot and arrows, or else by rolling down great stones upon them. All the valour of these courageous knights could not force its way through so vigorous an opposition. Several were crushed to death by the weight of the stones rolled down upon them. The grand master himself was twice thrown down; but in spite of impending death, which presented itself on all sides, and without regarding two wounds he had just received, he gets up and bravely mounts again through a continual fire of muskets, and showers of arrows and stones; and seconded by his gallant knights, leaps at last upon the rampart on which the Turks had posted themselves. The combat was then upon more equal terms: the knights fall sword in hand upon the infidels; they close on both sides in a moment, with a reciprocal fury; all are engaged, and seem resolved to vanquish. One side to maintain its first advantage; and the other to regain a post on which the safety of the place depended. The grand master distinguished himself more by his surprising valour than by his dignity: he killed several officers of the Turks with his own hand, and threw others of them down from the walls.

Victory began to declare itself in his favour. The Turks give way; their battalions open; the basha, who perceived it, ordered a body of the janizaries to advance immediately to their support; he himself advanced also by their side, with his sabre in hand, either to encourage them, or to kill such as should retire back. He soon discovered the grand master, not so much by his arms, as by the deadly blows he gave. As he had not been able to destroy him by

poison, as has been already seen, he engaged several janizaries, by the hopes of a great reward, to attack him particularly, and by his death revenge the blood of their companions. Twelve of the most resolute soldiers of that body devoted themselves, as it were to death, in order to dispatch him. They rush headlong into the midst of the engagement, charge the Christians with vigour, pierce their ranks, open a way to the grand master, and in spite of the knights that surrounded his person, attack him and give him five great wounds at once. The ardour with which he was inflamed in the heat of the combat, hindered him at first from feeling them: he fought on some time longer with his usual valour. The knights seeing the blood that flowed from his wounds, begged of him to retire; but that great man, instead of complying with their affectionate intreaties, cried out, " Let us die in this place, my dear brethren, rather than retire. Can we ever die more gloriously than in the defence of our faith and religion?"

These heroic sentiments, the wounds he had received, the blood that was streaming from them, and the desire of revenging him, animated the knights and Christian soldiers in such a manner, that mad with vexation, and like men that were resolved not to survive their leaders, they threw themselves like furies into the thickest of the enemy, and made a horrible slaughter of them. The Turks, daunted at their blows, which rage inspired with an uncommon force, take them for other men, or for something more than man. Terror seized their spirits; sense and judgment is lost with their courage; they all took to their heels, and in this disorder and confusion kill one another to make themselves way.

The knights took advantage of this consternation, and not satisfied with having regained the breach, they sallied out and pursued the Turks. In vain did the basha labour to make them take heart; in spite of his promises and threats, the flight became general; they drag him along with them in the universal rout, and he was glad to get into his camp for refuge; he afterwards made the best of his way to his ships and galleys, and went on board with as much shame as vexation.

The grand master, covered with his own blood and with that of his enemies, but more with glory, was carried into his palace, where by the care of his knights, and the good wishes of all his people, he recovered his health in a short time. As soon as he was able to walk, he went to the church of St. John, to return thanks to the God of hosts for the victory he had won: and in order to leave some lasting monuments of his acknowledgments and piety, he built three churches in honour of the Blessed Virgin and the patron-saints of the order. He made several foundations in these churches, to pray to God for ever for the souls of the knights that were killed in this bloody siege. The surviving knights, that had signalized themselves most, were distinguished by his favours, in which even the meanest soldiers had their share; and, to give some relief to the peasants and inhabitants of the country, whose lands had been ravaged by the infidels, he distributed corn among them for their subsistence till the next harvest, and exempted them for some years from the taxes they used to pay before the siege.

If the grand master made all the inhabitants of Rhodes happy by his victory and liberality, Maho-

met, on the contrary, upon the first news he had of the raising of the siege, fell into a rage that made every body tremble; he was for strangling his general and the principal officers of his army; no one durst appear in his presence. Paleologus thought himself happy with the loss only of his dignity: Mahomet banished him to Gallipoli. After the first violence of his passion was over, in order to console himself, in some measure, he declared that his troops were never successful but when under his own conduct; and he resolved, the next campaign, to put himself at the head of his army.

The preparations he made for that purpose were extraordinary: he mustered no less than three hundred thousand men, and the general rendezvous was in Bithynia, a province adjoining Lycia, where they said he was to embark, in order to pass over to Rhodes. Others suspected that this great armament was designed against the sultan of Egypt; and they founded their conjecture upon prince Zizim, one of his sons, having already entered Syria by his orders. Be this as it will, Mahomet had passed the Hellespont, and was marching with great diligence through Anatolia, when a blow from heaven put a stop to his enterprises. A violent fit of the cholic carried him off, at a little town of Bithynia, called Teggiar Tzair. He died on the 3d of May, 1481. They carried his body to Constantinople, to inter it in a mosque of his own foundation: and though that prince had conquered two empires, twelve kingdoms, and above three hundred towns, yet the epitaph put over him, which they pretend he drew up himself, makes no mention of those great actions; as if he reckoned them nothing in comparison of his last projects. All they put over his tomb was

nine or ten Turkish words only, the purport of which is,

I DESIGNED TO CONQUER RHODES,  
AND SUBDUE PROUD ITALY.

Mahomet, by his death, left the princes Bajazet and Zizim, his sons, heirs to his vast empire. They found it, however, too narrow for their ambition; neither of them would hear a word of dividing it: both were for reigning alone. Caourin, a contemporary historian, and vice-chancellor of the order of St. John, pretends that Bajazet was the elder. Jaligni, another historian of the same time, gives the right of eldership to Zizim: a question of no great consequence in a warlike nation, where arms had almost always decided the possession of the crown.

Bajazet loved study more than war, and he loved wine yet better than study. The Turks ascribe to him a translation into their language of the works of Averroes, a famous Arabian philosopher, the ornament of Cordova, where he was born. Zizim, less voluptuous than his brother, had always shown a great impatience of following the example of his father, and acquiring glory by war. They pretend, that these two brothers had never seen one another but once. Mahomet, who had an insatiable thirst after sovereign power, had always kept them asunder, fearing they should unite against him. At the time of that prince's death, Bajazet resided at Amasia, a city situated on the Black Sea, in the farthest part of Cappadocia; Zizim's residence was at Magnesia, a city of Caria.

In this remote absence of the two brothers, the bashas and great officers of the crown were divided about the choice of an emperor. Every one espoused



the side that best suited his interest or inclination. Mahomet, then grand vizier, or first basha, who succeeded Misach Paleologus in that dignity, had most inclination to Zizim. But the basha Chersee-Ogli, son-in-law to Bajazet, seizing on the treasures of Mahomet, made use of them to gain the janizaries of the Porte. Achmet Geduc, another basha, and the greatest captain then among the Turks, being returned from Italy, where he had taken the town of Otranto, got the army he commanded to declare in favour of Bajazet.

They were surprised that this general, who was born a soldier and trained up in war, and who, in Mahomet's life time, had had very warm quarrels with Bajazet, should prefer him to Zizim, a prince of extraordinary valour. But he did this probably from political motives, fancying that he should be more necessary and considerable under an unwarlike prince, given up entirely to pleasure, than under the dominion of a sultan, who would command his troops in person. Whatever was his motive, Bajazet's party, by the dexterity and good conduct of those that had the management of it, got the better, and that prince was proclaimed grand seignior at Constantinople. In order not to leave the throne vacant during his absence, his partisans set up, in quality of his lieutenant, one of his sons, named Corcutus, a young prince, who, though scarcely eight years old, showed a great unwillingness to quit it afterwards, when, upon the arrival of his father, he was forced to resign it to him.

Zizim, who was at a greater distance from Constantinople, was later in receiving advice of Mahomet's death. He set out immediately on his way thither; but being informed that his brother had

got the start of him, and that the capital of the empire had declared in his favour, he returned, put himself at the head of the army that he commanded in Syria, levied new troops, seized on Bursa and all Bithynia, and resolved to wait the coming up of his enemy in that place.

Bajazet, to hinder him from fortifying himself in Asia, ordered his best troops to march immediately against him. This army was composed chiefly of janizaries and spahis, the flower of the Turkish infantry and cavalry, which were reinforced with a body of European troops, superior in force and courage to the Asiatics, who were most of them effeminated by the pleasures and luxury of the country. What made this army still more formidable was, that the valiant Achmet, the darling of the soldiery, was general of it; and Bajazet, who was indebted to him for the favour of the troops, by committing the general command of them to him, made him again the sovereign disposer of his fortune and empire.

Achmet having passed the Bosphorus, entered Asia, and advanced towards Bursa. Zizim did not think it proper to shut himself in that place and stand a siege. He therefore advanced against his brother's forces. They soon came to an engagement: a great empire was to be the prize of the victorious. Zizim, in order to obtain it, was incredibly valiant: that prince, with sabre in hand, charged all that stood before him: the combat was bloody and obstinate, they took no prisoners, and gave no quarter on either side; and it was some time before it could be distinguished on what side the victory would fall. But Achmet, after letting the enemy spend all their fire, putting himself at the head of a

body of reserve that had not yet fought, made so furious a charge on the Asiatics, that their troops, consisting mostly of new levies, could no longer sustain the shock of the Europeans. In vain did Zizim exert himself to renew the engagement, rallying his cavalry several times, and returning to the charge. The bravest of them, who never quitted him in the battle, fell almost all by his side. Achmet met with very little opposition from the infantry; most of them were cut to pieces; such as escaped the sword of the victorious fled for their lives, and the fear of falling into Bajazet's power forced Zizim at last to do the same.

Night coming on was favourable to his escape. He threw himself into the midst of a forest. As the night concealed the greatness of his loss, he flattered himself with the hopes of rallying his troops the next day, and trying again the fortune of war; but, not being able to get above forty horsemen together, the rest being either killed or dispersed, he had no other course to take, but to retreat as fast as possible from a place which had proved so unfortunate, and which might still be more fatal to him: he was, however, under a difficulty about resolving on a place to take refuge in. Among those that still continued about him, some of them proposed Egypt, where Calit-Bei reigned as soldan, while others were for his applying to the prince of Caramania, or the grand master of Rhodes, all of them open enemies of the Turks, or jealous of their power. Zizim determined in favour of the soldan, the strongest potentate of the three. Passing always through bye-roads, he got safe with his little troop to Syria, went into Palestine, came to Jerusalem, visited the mosque, which they called the temple of

Solomon, where he paid his devotions, and crossing the deserts of Arabia, arrived at Grand Cairo. He was apparently received as a sovereign prince, with all the honours and ceremonies due to his birth, but in reality with an indifference, such as princes usually discover for the unfortunate. Cait-Bei did not think proper to associate himself with his ill-fortune; and all his good offices ended in offering Zizim his mediation with his brother. That prince accepted it, rather out of complaisance to the soldan, than out of any hopes of good success from it. The soldan immediately dispatched an emir to Constantinople. During his voyage, Zizim out of devotion visited Mecca, and at his return brought his wife and children to Cairo. They were received with respect by the soldan, and promised his constant protection.

The emir that Cait-Bei had sent to Constantinople, began his negociation as soon as he arrived. Bajazet, by the advice of Achmet, his first minister, in order to amuse Zizim, proposed to the soldan to give his brother a province in Asia. Cait-Bei, to weaken the Turkish empire, could have wished there had been a little more proportion in the share allowed him; but as Bajazet was master of the whole empire, and pretended to prescribe the terms of the treaty, the soldan being, as most mediators are, indifferent with respect to the interest of Zizim, was of opinion that he ought to accept his brother's proposal, and represented to him, that a great province, in which he was to reign as absolute sovereign, was preferable to a war, the success whereof was doubtful. Zizim, who aspired to the empire, and whose courage and ambition made him think himself more worthy of it than his brother, rejected

his offers with disdain. He moreover saw plainly, that they only sought to involve him in a labyrinth of artifice, and an endless negotiation; so that he answered the soldan, that such great pretensions on both sides, and a dispute of such importance, could only be determined by the sword.

But finding that prince not disposed to take up arms in his favour, he only recommended his wife and children to him, and then retired to the Caramanian prince of Cilicia, in whom he expected to find more generosity and resolution, and who had, indeed, sent to him in Egypt, to offer him the assistance of his arms, and propose the uniting their forces against Bajazet. Mahomet had taken from that prince all Cappadocia, and that part of Cilicia which borders upon mount Taurus. Zizim came to his court, and promised him by the most solemn oaths to restore him those provinces, in case he should ever, by the assistance of his troops, recover the throne. The two princes, in an interview, swore an inviolable fidelity to one another; the Caramanian immediately made preparations for war, and sent to his allies and neighbours to demand succours. The grand master of Rhodes, who was one of that number, sent him five galleys, well equipped with soldiers and artillery, to keep the sea, and defend the coasts of his country; and the Caramanian, at the same time, received several reinforcements from some petty Mahometan princes, who entered into the league against a power that seemed ready to swallow up all the rest.

These princes, having joined their troops before Achmet had drawn his out of their winter quarters, advanced as far as the plains of Laranda, in the farthest parts of Cappadocia. Bajazet was surprised

to hear, that his brother had returned out of Egypt to dispute the empire with him. His crown, and even his life, were at stake, and depended upon opposing their measures. Achmet indeed was at the head of a great body of troops, able to fight the enemy; but a distrust, natural enough to weak men, made him apprehensive that that general might possibly be bribed to go over to his brother: besides, his ministers, who were jealous of the glory which the vizier had in this war, represented to that prince, that, in a quarrel which was personal in respect to him, and of such mighty importance, his soldiers would have an ill opinion of his valour, was he not to show himself at the head of his army. These considerations determined him to pass the Bosphorus: he entered Asia: his army consisted of a hundred thousand men: that of Achmet was near as numerous. After he had joined the sultan, that prince made a review of all his troops, when Achmet appeared at their head; but Bajazet observing, that Achmet, instead of wearing his sword by his side, had it only tied to the pommel of his horse's saddle, cried out, "My protector, you have a great memory; forget the faults of my youth, put your sword again by your side, and employ it with your accustomed valour against our enemies."

In order to the right understanding of this passage, it is necessary to call to mind what has been already observed, relating to Mahomet the Second's war against Persia. Bajazet, who was then young, followed him in that expedition, and had a particular command over a body of troops. The sultan, his father, who had no great opinion either of his capacity or valour, some hours before the engagement began, ordered Achmet to visit the line where

Bajazet commanded, and see if his troops were drawn up in order of battle. But that officer, finding them all in confusion, could not help reproaching him in pretty harsh terms: "Is it in this manner, Sir," says the old warrior, "that a prince, who has a mind to conquer, should draw up his soldiers?" Bajazet, vexed at this reproach, told him, the time would come when he would make him repent his insolence. "And what will you do?" replied the haughty Achmet. "I swear by my father's soul, that if ever you come to the empire, I will never gird a sword to my side for your service."

Such was the occasion of Achmet's appearing at the review with his sword tied to the pommel of his horse's saddle. But Bajazet stood in too much need of his valour and experience, not to endeavour to make him forget that little quarrel. Peace was soon made between that prince and his general: they had now nothing more to think of but to go in quest of the enemy. They pretend, that Bajazet's general defeated Zizim in a second battle: other authors say, that the allies being too weak to keep the field, retired into the straits of mount Taurus, upon the arrival of Bajazet.

Bajazet, vexed that his brother had escaped him, made him other proposals, with a view of surprising him; and, in addition to the offer he had before made him, he made him a new one, of a pension of two hundred thousand crowns of gold; a prodigious sum at that time. "I want an empire, and not money," replied Zizim, in a haughty manner, to his brother's envoy. Besides, this prince was not to be dazzled by these propositions, since he saw that, at the same time that he expressed a desire of adjusting matters with him in an amicable manner,

Achmet was insensibly seizing on all the passes of the mountains, in order to prevent his escape. The Caramanian prince told him the danger they were going to be exposed to, if they staid any longer in that place; and, not having forces sufficient to oppose those of Bajazet, they agreed to disband them till such time as that prince should return to Constantinople, their troops being of no other use to them than to make them be pursued: and both of them agreed to retire to places where they might be in security, either from their obscurity, or by the power of the prince to whose court they should retire.

Zizim's first scheme was to hide himself, with a few persons, in the remotest corner of the mountains. The Caramanian was of a different opinion: he told him, that he could never be safe in a cavern against the search his brother was making after him: that it was his interest to preserve his secret partisans, that they should believe him to be alive, and still in a disposition to return and dispute the empire: and that further, his sentiments were, that he should apply to the grand master of Rhodes, in whose dominions he might be more secure, and live with greater dignity; and also might, by means of the knights, who roved over all the Asiatic seas, be informed of every thing that passed at Constantinople, and over all the East.

Zizim followed this advice, and dispatched one of the noblemen, who adhered to his person and fortune, to the grand master, to desire him to grant him protection in his territories. But this envoy was seized by one of Bajazet's party, who saw, by his brother's letters, the design he had formed of retiring among the Christians. Whereupon he im-



mediately sent some detachments to force the fastnesses his brother had retired into, and at the same time ordered others to secure all the passes that led to any port of Lycia; and flattered himself, that he should shut him up so close, that it would be impossible for him to escape. Zizim, not seeing his agent return, dispatched two others to Rhodes, with the same commission to the grand master, to desire of him a retreat in his dominions, together with a safe conduct, to assure him of a full liberty of entering them and going out of them at all times. The prince afterwards quitted mount Taurus; and the Caramanian serving him for a guide, he drew near the sea-coast, to wait an answer from Rhodes. The grand master, in concert with the council, after mature deliberations, thought it would be for the honour, and even the interest of the order, not to refuse an asylum to so great a prince. Upon which a squadron of ships was immediately ordered to go to receive him, and Don Alvares de Zuniga, grand prior of Castile, was entrusted with this commission and the safe conduct, which was drawn up in the form that Zizim's ambassadors had desired it.

This commodore set sail about the same time that Zizim and the Caramanian prince, seeing themselves pursued by the spahis, resolved to part, after having first embraced each other tenderly, and swore an inviolable friendship. The Caramanian threw himself again into the mountains, from whence he made his way to some fortresses that were still left him. The Turkish prince waited by the sea-side, in expectation of news from Rhodes; but seeing a squadron of spahis coming up, he got into a bark, which the Caramanian prince had kept always in readiness, concealed behind a rock.

Scarce had Zizim put off from the shore, when he saw the troop of spahis appear on the coast, who came but a few moments too late. The prince, seeing himself out of danger, lay to, and taking his bow, let fly an arrow, with a letter tied to it, directed to his brother, and expressed almost in these terms.

*“ King Zizim to King Bajazet, his inhuman brother.*

“ God and our great prophet are witnesses of the shameful necessity you reduce me to, of taking refuge among the Christians. After having deprived me of the just right I had to the empire, you pursue me from one country to another, and have not rested till you have forced me, for the safety of my life, to seek an asylum with the knights of Rhodes, the irreconcilable enemies of our august house. If the sultan, our father, could have foreseen, that you would have thus profaned the honorable name of the Ottomans, he would have strangled you with his own hands; but I hope, that, since he is gone, heaven will avenge your cruelty, and I only wish to live to be a witness to your punishment.”

The commander of this troop of spahis took the letter, and, vexed that he had missed his prey, carried it to Bajazet, who, it is said, as he was reading it, could not avoid shedding a few tears, which nature forced from him against his inclination. Zizim sailed towards Rhodes, to see if he could have any news of the ambassadors whom he had sent to the grand master. The unfortunate prince, uncertain of his fate, was wandering up and down those seas, as chance might direct his course, when he disco-

vered a squadron in full sail, steering towards the coast of Lycia. The fear he entertained, lest they should be some ships that his brother had sent to intercept his passage to Rhodes, made him order the pilot to get as fast as he could to land, and put him on shore again; but distinguishing the flag of Rhodes, and making the signals he had concerted with his ambassadors, they came up to him in a chaloupe with a knight, whom Don Alvares de Zuniga sent in company with the ambassadors, to assure him, in the grand master's name, that he should be very welcome in the isle of Rhodes. This knight told him, that the commodore of the squadron, who was lieutenant general to the grand master, was sent on purpose to convoy him safe thither. Zuniga advanced afterwards to salute the prince, went into his bark, and presented him the grand master's letter and safe conduct. After the usual compliments and ceremonies, he put him on board a great ship that was under his command, and sailed for Rhodes. The grand master had no sooner notice of his arrival, than he sent the oldest commanders of the order to receive him, and went himself out of his palace to meet him, almost as far as the harbour: they joined hands at meeting. The grand master, after having, by the assistance of an interpreter, repeated all the assurances that he had already given him by his safe conduct, waited upon him to the French inn, which was assigned for his lodging: in their way thither he gave him the right hand, which Zizim perceiving, was for giving it to him, and told him, it did not become captives to take place of their patrons: "Sir," replied the grand master, very obligingly, "captives of your quality have the first rank every where, and would

to God you had as much power in Constantinople as you have in Rhodes."

The grand master, after having conducted him to his apartment, left him to the care of some commanders and officers of his household, who endeavoured, by their politeness and noble entertainments, to divert him from musing on his misfortunes, which seemed to employ all his thoughts. Matthew Bosio, a canon of Verona, who saw him some years afterwards, and observed him with great attention, represents him, in one of his letters, which has been transmitted to us, as a man who had all the air of a barbarian, and of a savage and cruel prince; his stature a little above the middle size; his body thick and well set; his shoulders broad, and his belly prominent; his arms strong and nervous; he had a large head, squinting eyes, and a Roman nose, so hooked at the end, that it almost touched his upper lip, which was covered with a large whisker. In a word, says this writer, he is the exact picture of his father Mahomet; and such indeed as he is represented in several of his medals, that have fallen into my hands.

The knights omitted nothing that might contribute to divert the prince. There were every day parties of hunting, tournaments, feasts, and musical concerts; but this last kind of diversion did not much affect the sultan; and though they entertained him with excellent voices, he did not seem to take any pleasure in that agreeable music. To please his taste, they sent him a Turkish slave, who with a harsh and inharmonious voice, accompanied with wry faces and the most grotesque postures, was the only person that had the art of pleasing him.

In the mean time the residence of a guest of such consequence gave no little uneasiness to the grand master. He did not question but that Bajazet, as soon as he knew the place where Zizim had fled for shelter, would do his utmost to oblige the order to deliver him into his hands. This they could not refuse, without bringing all the forces of the Ottoman empire a second time into the island; and the grand master's word, his safe conduct, and even his natural generosity, made him incapable of taking such a step, and of delivering him up to his cruel enemy.

Whilst d'Aubusson was in no little inquietude by reason of these various considerations, an envoy arrived from the governor of Lycia; a province, as we have observed, separated from Rhodes only by a canal of about eighteen miles broad. This envoy, under pretence of proposing a trading truce, and liberty of commerce between the grand master's subjects and the people of his government, was really sent to see whether Zizim had retired to Rhodes, and in what manner the grand master treated him. The grand master received him handsomely, and did not seem averse to the proposals which they made him. But the envoy, who had other views, under pretence that he expected new orders from his master, protracted the negotiation; and they soon discovered the principal design of his voyage. The grand master, in order to free himself as soon as possible of a privileged spy, speedily put an end to his treaty, and sent him back to his master. But scarcely had he parted with him, when another arrived, who brought him a letter from the basha Achmet. The grand seignior, unwilling to expose himself to a refusal, had enjoined him to set

on foot a new negotiation with the grand master, as if from himself. That minister, who, by the important services that he had lately done Bajazet, governed his empire with an absolute authority, wrote to the grand master, exhorting him to make a solid and lasting treaty of peace with the Porte, for which he offered his credit and good offices, in case he would send ambassadors to Constantinople.

The grand master saw plainly through the artifice, and that these different negotiators had only one design, that of getting into Rhodes, and find out some means to destroy Zizim, either by sword or poison. Though the prince of Rhodes viewed them as assassins, yet as they were invested, or rather masked with a public character, no notice was taken of their designs. All that the law of nations and prudence allowed to be done on this occasion was, to dismiss these envoys as soon as possible; and all the answer that the grand master gave the basha was, that, provided they dropped all mention of tribute, he might possibly, in some time, send ambassadors to the Porte, to treat about a lasting peace. Several councils after this were held at Rhodes, to consider of the conduct the order ought to observe in so nice an affair.

In all these preliminaries the least mention was not made of Zizim, notwithstanding which, the grand master easily perceived, that the design of the negotiation always related to the person of that prince, and that if his brother could not get him into his power by way of treaty, he would either take care to have him poisoned, or would attack him by open force; so that they might soon see all the forces of the Ottomans over-running the isle of Rhodes a second time. They held several councils

on this subject, and in order not to let a pledge of such value out of their hands, they resolved, both for the prince's own safety, and till such time as they might see how affairs would go in the East, to send him into France, to reside upon some commandry of the order.

The grand master, in order to reconcile him to this step, represented to him, that it was his interest to shelter himself for some time from his brother's eager pursuits: that whatever precautions the order should take, his life could never be secure at Rhodes, where so many renegado Greeks could easily get in by means of their language, and find means to dispatch him by sword or poison, notwithstanding all the precautions that the order might take: whereas, whilst he was at a distance, the order, which was entering into a negotiation with the sultan, might find opportunities to take care of his interests, and that he himself would undertake to give him a full account of what passed at the porte in relation to him.

The Turkish prince seeing no remedy, consented to every thing they proposed to him. He likewise, before his setting out, left a full power with the grand master to treat with Bajazet in his name, upon such terms as should be most for his advantage and security. This was not the only instrument he signed; he executed another, wherein, after reciting all the obligations he had to the grand master and his order, he engaged himself, in case he ever recovered the empire, or any considerable part of it, to maintain a constant peace with the knights, would give their fleets free entrance into all his ports, would set three hundred Christians of both sexes at liberty every year without ransom, and

pay a hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold into the treasury of the order, to reimburse them the expenses they had been at on his account. This instrument, signed with his own hand, is still kept in the archives of Malta, and is dated the fifth day of the month of Regeb, in the 887th year of the Hegira, which answers, according to our way of computation, to the 31st of August, 1482. The prince went afterwards on board, under the convoy of the chevalier de Blanchefort, the grand master's nephew, who employed all the care and complaisance imaginable, to divert the melancholy with which the prince was seized at leaving his own country, and passing into a foreign land.

Whilst he was sailing towards France, the grand master, pursuant to the promise he had given Achmet, sent the knights Guy de Mont Arnaud and Duprat as his ambassadors to Constantinople. Bajazet, who saw that his brother's fortune was entirely in the grand master's power, was exceedingly pleased at their arrival. They were received with great honours, and he appointed commissioners to treat of a peace, naming for that purpose the vizier Achmet and Misach Paleologus, who, after Mahomet's death, having declared in favour of Bajazet, was on that account recalled to the porte. The negotiation had like to have miscarried at the very opening of the conference. Achmet insisted, by way of preliminary, that the grand master should acknowledge himself a vassal of the grand seignior, and as such should pay him an annual tribute. This proposition was rejected with a noble disdain by the two ambassadors. The vizier, the proudest man living, told them, that his master would go in person at the head of a hundred thousand men to levy



in bestowing; and under a feigned zeal for his prince's service, he insinuated to him, that as the vizier was so very powerful, and in a manner adored by the soldiers, he could not have uttered such taunts and reflections without designing some insurrection.

In a case of this nature, especially in a despotic government like that of the Turks, bare suspicion is a crime. Bajazet, ever jealous and diffident, as all weak persons are, resolved to dispatch the vizier, in order to prevent the designs with which they charged him from taking effect: besides, the daily sight of a man, the greatness of whose services exceeded all the recompences he could make him, was offensive to his eyes. Orders were given to invite most of the *grandees* of the *porte* to a magnificent entertainment that Bajazet was to give them. They there drank very copiously of wine, notwithstanding the express prohibition of their law. The sultan, who had his private designs, and had a mind to make the vizier talk, brought up a discourse relating to the peace he had just concluded with the grand master; and added, that since he had no more enemies to oppose, he thought to lessen the pay of the soldiery, and break some officers that were not well affected to the government. Achmet, the father of the soldiery, and naturally haughty and passionate, immediately took fire, and, elevated with the fumes of wine, told him plainly, that the affection of the soldiery was the surest support of the throne, and that those who should advise a sultan, especially one who had a brother still living, to incense his troops, would be evil counsellors. Some writers assert, that as soon as he had spoke these words, a mute, who was posted there on purpose, upon a sign that the

sultan made him, stabbed him with a dagger to the heart. Other authors give a different account of what passed at the death of this minister, which they tell us was delayed for some time. According to these writers, Bajazet, before he dismissed the bashas, that he might end the magnificence of the feast with an act of liberality, presented every one of them with a brocade vest, and a cup filled with pieces of gold; but that they put only a black robe before the vizier, who looked upon it as an ill omen of the fate that attended him; and he was confirmed in his sentiments, when, as he was going out after the rest, the sultan ordered him to stay, pretending that he had an affair of importance to communicate to him. Achmet, no longer doubting but he was going to be strangled, cried out in a rage, "Cruel tyrant, since you resolved to put me to death, why did you first force me to offend God by drinking a forbidden liquor?"

By Bajazet's order, they began to load him with stripes, after which the mutes prepared to strangle him. But the chief of the eunuchs, who was his particular friend, seeing his master drunk with wine and anger, threw himself at his feet. "Sir," said he to him, "be not so hasty to put him to death: you know that he is the darling of the janizaries: wait only till to-morrow, to see how they will receive the news of his death, and then dispose of him as you please."

Fear, the strongest principle of action in a weak and timorous prince, had its usual effect on Bajazet. He put off Achmet's death, and ordered him to be thrown half naked, and loaded with irons, into a dungeon. His son, who waited at the gate of the seraglio, not seeing him come out, inquired of

the other bashas for him ; but they were most of them so drunk, that all that he could get out of them was, that the grand seignior seemed to be angry with him. The young lord, trembling for his life, ran to the guard-house of the janizaries, and the vast pile of building where they are quartered when not upon duty, when bursting out into tears, and directing his discourse to the oldest of them, " My dear companions," said he to them, " the sultan has just now caused my father to be seized : will you, brave soldiers, suffer them to butcher your general, with whom you have eat bread and salt for so many years ? "

At this news the janizaries run to arms, gather into a body, march straight to the seraglio, and with great cries demand the gates to be opened : the noise of the tumult soon passed into Bajazet's apartment. The prince, after considering what measures he should take, fearing that the soldiers might dethrone him in their fury, appeared at a window with a bow in his hand. " What do you require, my companions," says he to them, " and what is the occasion of this tumult ? " " You shall know immediately," cried they, " you drunken sot, where is Achmet ? we'll either see him, or find out a means of revenging his death. " The fearful sultan, seeing all the soldiery enraged and incensed against him, " Achmet," says he to them, " is in my seraglio, and alive. I have only kept him with me to confer about some affairs of consequence. " The sultan was so terrified at the looks and threats of the janizaries, that he ordered him to be brought to them immediately. He appeared at the gate of the seraglio bareheaded, his legs uncovered, and without any clothes on but a waistcoat only, just

like a man who was ordered for execution. The janizaries, provoked to see that great captain treated in so shameful a manner, snatched a turban from one of the principal officers of the Porte, and put it upon Achmet's head. They commanded at the same time a vest to be brought him, and when he was dressed they carried him to his palace with great acclamations, and as if they had gained some signal victory.

The vizier, either from a greatness of soul, or else out of apprehensions that this affection of the soldiers would be imputed to him as a fresh crime, desired them to use their advantages with more moderation. "Bajazet," said he, "is our sovereign; and who knows but I have merited his indignation by some fault I may have committed." At length his entreaties quieted the sedition; but his own experience taught him, that there is no getting an advantage over a sovereign that does not prove fatal to the victor. Bajazet dissembled his resentment for some time. The vizier seemed to be restored to his favour; but in a journey which the court made to Adrianople, at a time when all his apprehensions appeared to be over, the sultan caused him to be strangled. Such was the fate of one of the greatest captains of the Ottoman empire, who, by being thought too necessary, became suspected by his master, and odious to the other bashas.

While this tragical scene was acting at the Porte, Zizim arrived safe on the coast of Provence. The grand master had sent an ambassador before him to Lewis XI., who was then on the throne of France, to request permission for the prince to enter his dominions, and reside there for some time. The king, who did not concern himself in the affairs of the

East, readily consented to it. Zizim, according to Jaligni, a contemporary historian, was first carried into the province of la Marche, to the castle of a lord of that province, called Boislami, the grand master's brother-in-law. The prince, after some stay in this place, retired to the commandry of Bourgneuf; and the knights, who, under pretence of keeping him company, were in reality his guards, lodged him in a tower, built on purpose to secure him against the designs of Bajazet, though perhaps it was intended to prevent him making his escape, as some time after they had reason to suspect he meditated.

In short, this unfortunate prince, instead of the favourable reception and succours which he had flattered himself he should receive from the king of France, was uneasy to find himself at a distance from his country and his friends, banished into a foreign land, and confined in a sort of prison: and how careful soever the knights who guarded him might be to divert him, yet he could not help looking upon them as his gaolers, and the mortal enemies of his house. These reflections threw him into a deep melancholy, which was soon followed by a dangerous illness, that made them fear his life was in danger.

One of the knights, whose business it was to guard him, being concerned for his misfortunes, and desirous, if possible, to expel the deep melancholy that had spread itself over his soul, advised him to desire an interview with the king of France, and encouraged him to hope, that he might engage that prince to interest himself in his misfortunes, and also obtain from him a sufficient number of forces, to enable him to try the fortune of war once more.

The prince, like all unfortunate persons, was overjoyed at the first glimpse of hope they gave him, and signified to the king of France, that he desired a conference with him. The king, who was entirely taken up with what passed in the territories of his neighbours, especially among the English, and the duke of Burgundy's court, answered the prince, that he would really have been very glad to see him, and to interest himself in his affairs, as became a sovereign, did not religion put an invincible obstacle in the way; but that if he would turn Christian, and abjure the errors in which he had been unhappily educated, he would engage to send him back to his own dominions at the head of a powerful army, which should not be inferior either in excellent officers, or in number of troops, to all the forces of the Ottoman empire; and, in case he did not think proper to try again the fortune of war, he offered to give him lands and lordships in France, sufficient to maintain him with a splendor and dignity suitable to his birth.

The Turkish prince soon discovered, that this proposal was no more than a polite pretence to excuse himself from agreeing to the interview he had desired, and granting the succours, which he had flattered himself he should have obtained. To omit the prejudices of education, was he only to consider his interest according to the maxims of human policy, he could not quit the sect of Mahomet, without being considered as a renegado among the Mahometans, and seeing himself abandoned by his best friends, and all his partizans; so that the prince, laying aside all thoughts of succour from France, turned his hopes towards the East, whence he expected news with the utmost impatience. He was

not long without receiving some advices, but they were not very agreeable to him; for he heard, with equal surprise and uneasiness, that the knights of Rhodes, the eternal enemies of the Ottomans, had, after several negotiations at Constantinople and Rhodes, agreed at last on a treaty, the very basis and purpose of which, unhappily for him, was the loss of his liberty; that the grand master, forgetting his safe-conduct and the promise he had solemnly given him, had engaged to keep him always at a distance, and under a guard of knights, that should be answerable for him so long as the Turks should not violate the treaty; and that Bajazet, on his side, was obliged to pay forty-five thousand ducats yearly to the grand master and the order. The treaty was varnished over, by those who drew it up, with all those specious pretences, which princes are seldom at a loss to invent; but which, after all, did not screen the order from the reproach of having violated its safe-conduct.

Bajazet payed this sum very exactly, and indeed before hand; and, in hopes of gaining the grand master's friendship entirely, he sent him the right hand of St. John the Baptist, patron of the order, which had been brought from Antioch to Constantinople; on the taking of this last city, Mahomet had ordered it to be put into his treasury, probably for the richness of the shrine, in order, to sell the relic itself to some Christian prince. Though the Turks look upon a veneration for the dead bodies of saints as idolatry, yet Bajazet sent it with great ceremony to Rhodes: a manifest proof, that the interests of state has more ascendancy over most sovereigns than religion.

However, as liberty is the first and most valuable

blessing of mankind, it is no wonder that the unhappy Zizim should be struck with the most violent grief, when he found that his had been put to sale, and that they had meanly bartered it for gold. The treaty threw him into a rage that can hardly be expressed: he wished for death as the only period of so terrible a misfortune; and they were every moment afraid lest he should make away with himself in the fits of his passion. In vain did the knights, set over him for his guard, labour to comfort him, by representing, that whatever had been transacted at Constantinople and Rhodes, was meant purely for his safety, and to prevent his falling into the hands of an implacable enemy. They represented to him, that his confinement would not be near so long as he imagined; that he ought to hope for great matters from time, and that some conjuncture would infallibly present itself, when the grand master might be able to restore him to his dominions with as much glory as safety. The unfortunate prince was not in a temper to be satisfied with such uncertain motives of consolation: the terrible idea of a perpetual imprisonment was ever presenting itself to his imagination, and all the arguments and civilities of his guards could not banish it a single moment from his mind.

The noise that his grief made soon passed beyond the bounds of his prison. Some persons, who were ill affected to the order, thence took occasion of blaming the grand master's conduct. They said, it was inhuman to sell the liberty of a prince, from whom, at most, they could have demanded but a ransom. Others went further, and said, it was astonishing that so noble an order, and a set of knights, who were eternal enemies to the Mahometans, should,



for a sum of money, turn gaolers under Bajazet, and let slip so favourable an opportunity of kindling a war among those infidels, which all the enemies of the Ottomans might take advantage of.

Caoursin, vice-chancellor of the order, a contemporary historian, who was at Rhodes at this time, has endeavoured to make an apology for the knights, by representing the advantages which the Christian princes derived from the confinement of this Ottoman prince: and that author, who was, in all likelihood, not very scrupulous, in order to justify the grand master's breach of faith, maintains, that it was much less criminal to act in that manner, than, by observing strictly the safe-conduct, to bring the arms of Bajazet upon the isle of Rhodes and the other states of Christendom. But if we follow Jaligni, another contemporary historian, the grand master never gave any safe-conduct, nor so much as his bare word.\* Zizim, as we may see in this historian, was a lawful prisoner, in consequence of which the grand master might dispose of his liberty as he judged proper for the good of his order.

As these two historians, one of them the grand master's minister and confidant, the other secretary to Peter de Bourbon, contradict one another in the same fact, we have not met with matter sufficient in either of the two writers to clear up the point, so that we might determine it with certainty: but whether Zizim was a lawful prisoner of war, or whether the knights, under pretence of not incensing so formidable a prince as the sultan, broke their safe-conduct, it cannot be denied, but that pope Sixtus IV., Ferdinand, king of Castile, Arragon and Sicily, another Ferdinand of the same house, king

\* Guillaume de Jaligni, p. 62, 63, 65, edit. de Louvre.

of Naples, the Venetians, and, above all the rest, Matthias Corvin, king of Hungary, a great captain, son to Huniades, and, like his father, the terror of the Turks, used very pressing instances with the grand master, to put Zizim at the head of their forces, in hopes of making use of his name, to raise up the secret partizans he had in the Ottoman empire. Indeed most of these princes were divided; some were actually making war upon one another; and, we must do this justice to the grand master, who was as great a politician as he was a captain, that he was afraid, if the war against the Turk should not prove successful, some might be found perfidious, or at least weak enough, to purchase their peace of Bajazet, by delivering up his brother and enemy to him. He made a much more commendable use of the power he had over the person of Zizim, and merely by the fear in which he kept the grand seignior, lest he should set that prince at the head of the forces of the order, and produce him to the malecontents, that were very numerous in his dominions, he tied up the hands of that mighty prince, kept his forces as it were in chains, and by this means prevented him, during his brother's life, from falling upon Italy, and turning his arms against the Christian princes.

The pope, impatient to see the Christian princes unite their arms against the infidels, believed, that if he once had Zizim's person in his power, he might easily make all the powers of Europe join their forces against the Turks. This pontiff had just succeeded Sixtus IV., by the name of Innocent VIII., A. D. 1484. He was a Genoese by birth, of the illustrious house of Cibo, originally of the isle of Rhodes, where

his father was born. As soon as he was placed in St. Peter's chair, he notified it to the knights, whom he considered as the sovereigns of his family, and sent a nuncio to Rhodes, to assure them of the esteem and affection he had for an order so illustrious, and so serviceable to the Christian world. But the nuncio, at the same time, declared to the grand master, that his holiness, for the good of Christendom, and to keep the Turk in awe, would be glad to have prince Zizim sent to Rome, or at least to some strong hold in Italy.

The grand master represented to the nuncio, that he had reason to fear such a step might give great jealousy to Bajazet; and that that prince, in order to revenge himself, and prevent the pope's designs, might fall with all his forces upon Italy. Besides, that by taking Zizim out of the hands of the knights, they might give the world occasion to suspect, that they did not behave themselves well towards him, which would be a great dishonour to the order. The nuncio transmitted these reasons to Rome; but the pope was inflexible, and made new instances, that they would send orders immediately to the chevalier de Blanchefort, then grand prior of Auvergne, to conduct the Turkish prince to Rome. The grand master, to show his deference to the pope's orders, named two ambassadors to wait upon his holiness, and chose for that purpose Philip de Cluys, of the language of France, bailiff of Morea, and William Caoursin, vice-chancellor of the order, the person who has left us a history of all that passed at Rhodes in relation to prince Zizim.

Were we to judge of their conduct in this negotiation, by the advantages which they drew from it, we must own that they were very able ministers;

for in exchange for the person of Zizim only, which they promised to deliver into the pope's hands, they obtained very important privileges. Innocent solemnly engaged, by this treaty, never to confer any commandries to the prejudice either of the several languages, or the right of seniority, even though they should fall vacant in the court of Rome: and, by an express bull in the year 1489, he declared, that the effects and possessions of the order should not be comprehended in the list of benefices that the popes had either reserved to themselves, or might afterwards reserve; and in case Bajazet should, out of resentment at this change, stop the payment of Zizim's pension, by another bull, to compensate the loss the knights of Rhodes would thereby sustain, he suppressed the orders of the Holy Sepulchre and St. Lazare, which he annexed to that of St. John, to prevent, as he says in his bull, a body of knights, so necessary to Christendom, from being overpowered by the formidable power of the Turks. The grand master's own interests were not forgot in this treaty: the pope engaged, as soon as prince Zizim should be delivered up, to send him a cardinal's hat; a dignity of great eminence indeed, but not very proper for a warrior, and especially one that was, at the same time, a sovereign prince.

The treaty being concluded to the satisfaction of the pope and the grand master, they sent ambassadors to king Charles VIII., the son and successor of Lewis XI., to communicate it to him, and desire his consent. They met with no difficulty from that quarter: but whilst these ambassadors were still in France, there came another minister of the Porte, sent by Bajazet to the king. That sultan, who was continually watching the behaviour of the knights

with regard to his brother, speedily received an account of the designs of the pope, and the negotiations of his ministers. He lost no time in dispatching one of his principal officers to traverse their negotiation. This ambassador, landing in Provence, notified his arrival immediately to the court, and set out on his road thither. But the king, following his father's example, and scrupling to give audience to an infidel, that minister stopped at Riez, pursuant to an order he received by an express messenger, and was obliged to transact the affair by writing, and sent the proposals which he was authorised to make to court.

Bajazet in his letter desired the king, that sultan Zizim might be delivered into the hands of the minister he sent, or at least that he would not suffer him to go out of his dominions: and in order to engage him to comply with his request, by something more valuable than gold or precious stones, he offered him all the relics that the emperor Mahomet had found in Constantinople, and in the whole extent of his empire. He added further, that he was in war with the soldan of Egypt; that he hoped to drive him soon out of Syria, Palestine, and the kingdom of Jerusalem; and that, if he succeeded in his attempt, he engaged to set the last of those crowns upon his head, as being the most potent prince that followed the law of the Messias.

Though the king was young, very courageous, and fond of glory, yet he did not suffer himself to be allured by this last proposal. Most of the Christian princes had been long before that discouraged from making those tedious voyages and pious expeditions, which had cost their ancestors immense sums, and the purest blood of their nobility. They

had scarcely a better opinion of the relics that came from the East, after the plundering of Constantinople; and the Greeks had brought such a vast number of spurious ones among the Latins,\* that the most superstitious had quite lost all that eagerness and respect which is due to the true ones only; so that the minister of the Porte was sent back, as Philip de Comines relates, without seeing the king, or being able to obtain any thing from him: but, on the other side, he signified to the agents sent by the pope and the order, that they might go when they pleased; that he gave his consent to their sending prince Zizim into Italy; and should be exceedingly pleased if the holy father could reap any considerable advantages from thence for the good of religion.

This prince, however, who had a secret design of carrying his arms one day into the East, and falling upon the Turks, did not give his consent, but upon condition that Zizim should be always kept under a guard of French knights, and that the pope should bind himself never to deliver him to any other sovereign, without his privity and consent, under the forfeiture of ten thousand ducats.

The unfortunate Zizim, after having come from the East into Europe, and from Rhodes into the midst of Auvergne, was now delivered up to the pope's agents, who carried him into Italy, where he arrived without any obstacle. To disguise this change of slavery, he was received with as much pomp and magnificence as they would have shown at the entry of a Christian king. The Cardinal of Angers, and Francisquin Cibo, the pope's natural

\* Observations sur l'Hist. de Charles VIII., p. 586, edit. de Louvre.

son, but born before he entered into holy orders, went to meet him two miles from Rome, and complimented him in the pope's name. Doria, captain of the pope's guards, waited for him at the gate of the town, where the cavalcade began. Some Turks, that were Zizim's servants, and never would quit him, were the first that appeared. Next came the pope's guards, his light horse, his gentlemen, with those of the cardinals and nobility of Rome. The seignior de Faucon, ambassador of France, heightened the splendor of the procession by the grandeur of his equipage, and a numerous train of attendants in rich liveries: the viscount de Monteil, the grand master's brother, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, marched immediately after, abreast with Francisquin Cibo: next advanced the Turkish prince, mounted on a prancing horse, followed by the grand prior of Auvergne, and the other knights appointed for his guard. The procession was closed by the master of the pope's chamber, and a crowd of Italian prelates of the pope's court. The Turkish prince was conducted to an apartment of the Vatican prepared for him; and the next day the ambassador of France and the grand prior of Auvergne conducted him to an audience of the pope.

That prince, on entering the apartment where he was to have audience, saw the pope seated on his throne, attended by the cardinals and all his court: he saluted him after the Turkish manner, but all the entreaties the master of the ceremonies employed, could not prevail on him to bend his knee, or embrace the pontiff's feet, as Christian princes do. The pope, however, did not receive him less graciously on that account. Zizim besought his

protection with as stately an air as if the pontiff stood in need of his. Innocent answered him with great mildness; and he was afterwards treated with much respect, though still guarded by the knights: but as he saw a great deal of company, and could easier receive news from Asia, he thought himself less unhappy at Rome than in the tower of Bourgneuf.

The king of France, for certain reasons, interested himself for the preservation of Zizim. That young prince, who was powerful and ambitious, aspired to the title of emperor. He had a mind to make use one day of Zizim, to get Constantinople, Romania, and the Morea, into his hands. Andrew Paleologus, nephew to the last emperor, Constantine, had yielded up to him all his rights to that empire: and Albania, Greece, and Romania, which had been but lately conquered by Mahomet, and still peopled by Christians, begged and implored his assistance. The king, in order to fall upon those great provinces, had need of some ports in Italy, and in the kingdoms of the two Sicilies. His council made him sensible of the right he had to the crown of Naples. This right was founded on the will of Charles IV. king of Sicily and Jerusalem, nephew to king Renué of the house of Anjou, who had left his cousin Lewis XI. heir to all his dominions and rights; and after him the Dauphin his son, who was then upon the throne, and stiled Charles VIII. Here was a right clear enough indeed, which wanted nothing but sufficient force to render it valid. The king and his council resolved, before they made an expedition into Greece, to undertake this enterprise. They were likewise encouraged to it by Lodowic Sforza, regent of the duchy of Milan, a secret enemy of the



house of Arragon, a branch of which had reigned at Naples near sixty years.

The Italian war was resolved on before any thing was to be undertaken on the side of Greece. However, as the king of France foresaw, that Zizim's person would be very necessary to him in this last expedition, he sent ambassadors to pope Innocent; and we find by their instructions, that they were ordered to put the pope in mind of the engagements he had entered into with him, in relation to the grand seignior's brother, that is, of his never disposing of him without his privity and consent: but these negotiations were interrupted by the pope's death, and Zizim, who, during his pontificate, had found some alleviation of his ill fortune, was, upon his death, oppressed with a new series of calamities.

Cardinal Roderigo de Borgia succeeded Innocent, by the name of Alexander VI. a pope, if we may call him by that name, that bought the triple crown, and the votes of several of his colleagues with ready money; and who, in order to reimburse, himself the sums he had laid out after his having got possession of it, bestowed no other reward upon those simonists than by dispatching them by sword and poison, or sending them into a tedious banishment. During his pontificate, bishopricks, benefices, ecclesiastical dignities, dispensations, the very administration of the sacraments, all was venal. He sold by retail what he had bought by the great, and employed the produce of it in keeping his mistresses: he was not ashamed to put the purple, so often dyed with the blood of martyrs, upon several of his bastards, that were polluted with all sorts of crimes, and whom he promoted to the dignity of cardinal.

The unfortunate Zizim being, by the present situation of his circumstances, in his power; the tyrant, in order to enable himself to dispose of his liberty and life as he pleased, took him out of the hands of the knights, whom he dismissed, shut him up in the castle of St. Angelo, and then sent advice of it to the grand seignior, who, through fear lest he should set him at liberty, engaged to pay him forty thousand ducats annually: others say that Alexander got at least sixty thousand a-year from him.

Meantime, the king of France, fond of his first designs of conquest, made extraordinary levies: his army consisted of 3600 men of arms, 6000 archers, 6000 crossbows, 8000 pikemen, and as many musqueteers, besides a prodigious train of artillery. All Italy trembled at the news of this formidable armament. The pope, whom the cardinals desired to have deposed, was in a fright at the bare noise of the march of the French: but as he was an able man, and a great politician, he turned his views towards Constantinople, and flattered himself, that if he was hard pressed by his enemies, he should be able, so long as he was master of Zizim's person, to get strong succours from Bajazet, both in money and troops, to sustain the war against the French.

It was with this view that he secretly dispatched a nuncio, to acquaint him with the designs and armament of Charles VIII., A. D. 1494. We see in the instructions given this nuncio, whose name was George Bozzarde, that he was directed to tell the grand seignior, that the king of France was advancing at the head of a formidable army, to take sultan Gem or Zizim his brother out of his hands, in order to make use of his help to dethrone him;

that as for himself, he was resolved, in conjunction with the king of Naples his ally, to oppose his enterprise, and hinder him particularly from advancing near Rome; but that he could not maintain war against so potent a prince without a speedy succour, and that therefore he would oblige him, if he would pay him immediately the forty thousand ducats that were due to him for the maintenance of the prince his brother. He adds, in this instruction to his ambassador, that he should acquaint the grand seignior, that the soldan of Egypt, with whom his highness was in war, had sent an ambassador to offer him immense sums if he would deliver Prince Zizim into his hands: but that he had rejected this proposal, and that nothing should be able to detach him from his interests.

The pope, by this subtle turn, and acquainting him with the soldan of Egypt's offers, insinuated to the grand seignior, that his brother was exposed to sale, that the highest bidder would carry it, and that it depended on himself only to obtain the preference. Bajazet understood his meaning, and as he had no interest so pressing as that of getting rid of his brother, we see, by his letters to the pope, that he begs him to dispatch him out of hand, and by his death put an end to the uneasiness which would sit upon his spirits as long as he should be living. "Holy father," says he to him, "Zizim, as he is imprisoned, cannot be said to live; he does nothing but languish; he is already more than half dead. It would be doing him a good office to dispatch him outright, and send him to enjoy eternal rest in another world." Thus did that tyrant explain himself in writing to another tyrant; and to make him absolutely resolve upon the murder he proposed, he

engaged himself by his letter, that as soon as he should have made away with his enemy, to remit him three hundred thousand ducats; which, says he, he may employ in purchasing considerable manors and lordships for his children. The pope, who never valued the life of a man in any affair wherein his interest was concerned, readily agreed to the conditions of the treaty. But as he got a tribute of forty thousand ducats every year that Zizim lived, and also by that means kept Bajazet in awe, he thought proper to defer the execution of this treaty till he saw the success of the enterprise of Charles VIII., and whether that prince would be powerful enough in Italy to take his prisoner from him.

But he was strangely surprised to hear, that that prince had already passed the Alps, and entered Italy without meeting with any obstacle or opposition. And indeed every thing submitted to him, so that there was no occasion for sieges or battles. Most of the towns sent a great distance to meet him, to present him with their keys; and it was commonly said, that he had less need of captains than harbingers for this great conquest, to go, as was usual in France, and mark out with their chalk the lodging he was to lie at. Thus that young prince, who was a conqueror before he so much as drew his sword, came to Rome, and to complete his good fortune, as if the gates of Rome were not large enough to afford him a suitable admittance into the city, the very night of his arrival there tumbled down at least forty yards of the wall, which being very old fell of themselves.

The pope, afraid of falling into the hands of that prince, and of being prosecuted as the chief of the sacred college, solicited he might be shut up in the

castle of St. Angelo. It was here that his past iniquities presented themselves to his imagination, with all their black train of horrors. His infamous debaucheries, his simony, his poisonings, his murders and his assassinations, pierced him to the quick. The cardinals, who were witnesses as well as enemies of his vices, the citizens of Rome, and the French soldiers, all cried out aloud, that it was their duty to purge both the earth and the church of such a monster. Though he found himself in this terrible situation, and abandoned by every body, yet he did not abandon himself; and as he was immensely rich, and had as much dexterity as money, he opposed the storm; and whilst his enemies looked upon him as an undone man, he, by force of presents, and the promise of a cardinal's hat to Bricconnet the king's minister, gained him over, to his interest, and, by his credit, most of the young prince's favourites at the same time: so that this great affair was turned into a negotiation, and of a criminal was made a civil cause. No more mention was made of the crimes of Alexander; all that was now aimed at was to get him over from the party of the house of Arragon. He promised every thing that they could desire of him, resolving to keep his promises no longer than a superior power should force him to it. Thus the treaty was soon concluded: he engaged to adhere inviolably for the future to the interests of France, and for a pledge of his word, gave his son, the cardinal of Borgia or of Valence, in hostage; the same who was afterwards called the duke of Valentinois, the hero of Machiavel; and who was the most profligate man then living, had his father not been alive. By this treaty he was obliged to follow the king to the war for four months, in quality of a

hostage. And in order not to sully the honour of the purple, his father invested him with the dignity of legate of the holy see: but what was still a greater mortification to him than to see his son follow the banner of France, was his being obliged to deliver Zizim up to the king. We see, by the treaty made on this occasion, that that prince, after the expedition of Naples, had bound himself to send him back to Rome to the pope; and in the mean time the king was to get him a discharge from the grand master and council of the order, in the same manner as he had given them, when he received Zizim from them; he was likewise, so long as the Turkish prince lived, to have the forty thousand ducats to himself, which the sultan paid for his subsistence; all of them conditions which he stipulated with so much care, with a view only of screening his wicked intentions. For this bloody wretch, in order to keep his promise to the Turk, and elude that which he had given to the king, caused \* Zizim to be poisoned before he delivered him up; so that the unfortunate prince ended his days the moment he came up with the king at Terracina. The hasty flight of the pope's son by night, whom the darkness of it favoured to make his escape, pointed out the perfidious authors of this murder.

The fatal news soon came to Rhodes, and it struck the grand master with horror and astonishment. He reproached himself, and that perhaps justly too, for having delivered up to Innocent VIII. a prince that had put himself into the hands of the order in confidence of their safe conduct, and who, though he had thrown himself as a captive into Rhodes, could never in that case have been treated

\* Rainaldi *Annales Ecclesiast.* anno 1495.

otherwise than as a prisoner of war. That which increased the grand master's grief was, that he was obliged to dissemble it, and was not allowed to take the vengeance due to so horrible a crime. In this great perplexity, the grand prior of Auvergne his nephew, brought him letters from the king of France, desiring him to come to him, that they might consult about the design he had formed of invading Greece, and falling upon the dominions of the grand seignior.

This young prince, whom fortune seemed to conduct by the hand, had just made himself master of the kingdom of Naples, which young Ferdinand had abandoned to him. The ease he found in gaining conquests which no one disputed with him, made him fancy he should have the same success against the Turks. This was the occasion of his letter to the grand master, which was wrote in terms equally civil and urgent. The king told him in a very obliging manner, that he had made choice of him, as one of the greatest captains of the age, to be his guide in that holy enterprise. But the grand master was not to be dazzled by these encomiums, much less by a project that was more pompous than solid. This venerable old man, though he resided in his palace, kept nevertheless secret intelligences in all the courts of the Christian princes, and even in the seraglio of the grand seignior. He was assured that this prince, now free from the uneasiness that his brother had occasioned him as long as he lived, was then making a powerful armament; and that it was by no means prudent for the grand master to leave Rhodes and the isles of the order in such a juncture. But what prevailed more than any thing else to prevent his going, was, that he had certain advices

from several places, that the king, far from being in a condition to pass into the Levant, would be very happy if he could get back into France; that the army which he had led into Italy was considerably lessened, by the garrisons he had been forced to put into different places, by sickness, and especially by the excesses which his soldiers had fallen into. That there was moreover a powerful league formed against that prince, the pope having been the principal instrument in promoting it; that Bajazet had, at the pontiff's solicitation, sent an ambassador to Venice, to threaten those republicans with a bloody war, if they did not declare themselves immediately against the king of France; that they had entered the more freely into the league, because they did not care to have so potent a prince for their neighbour: that their Bailo was the very person who had given the grand seignior the first account of the death of the unfortunate Zizim; and that in order to gratify the Turks, they had caused the archbishop of Durazzo to be seized, who, in order to facilitate the conquests of Charles the Eighth, had held secret intelligences with the Greeks of Illyria, a people that had but lately been brought under the subjection of the porte; and that those republican politicians had sent all the papers and writings of that prelate to the sultan.

These advices informed him farther, that the emperor Maximilian I. Ferdinand king of Spain, Ferdinand the dethroned king of Naples, Lodowic the duke or usurper of Milan, the marquess of Mantua, and several other petty princes of Italy, were actually treating at Venice, and they pretended that the league was signed the last day of March. The grand master sent the chevalier de Blanchfort back



to the king, to communicate these advices to him, which the event showed to be but too well founded. All these princes took up arms, and their army consisted of 20,000 foot and 34,000 horse.

The king saw plainly that he must lay aside the enterprise of the Levant: all his thoughts were bent on going to raise new forces in France: he marched that way with the remains of his army. The enemy, who made near sixty thousand men opposed his passage; they came to an engagement. The allies, though superior in number, yet not being united among themselves, advanced bravely to the battle, but after the first charge, most of them wheeled about and retired. One would have thought, that they were come only to make a tournament; and the stradiots, a body of light horse in the Venetian service, falling upon the baggage, which was purposely left as a bait to furnish them with employment, the king, at the head of his gentry and men of arms, opened a passage sword in hand, with the loss only of thirty or forty of his soldiers, after killing three thousand five hundred of the enemy; in which number were Rodolph uncle to the marquess of Mantua, and three princes of the name of Gonzaga, together with eighteen Italian lords.

Charles VIII. returned into his own dominions with more glory than advantage. He lost the kingdom of Naples by his retreat; and as the grand master had foreseen, there was no more talk in France of the conquest of Constantinople. The pope, delivered from his fear of the king's forces, and being no longer under apprehensions from that prince, who was scandalized at his wicked life and infamous actions, kept no measures after the French army had

repassed the mountains, but relapsed into his former disorders.

The knights of Rhodes were not safe from the oppression of his government. This pontiff, without any regard to the privileges of the order, and though he could not but be sensible of the services that the knights were continually doing to Christendom, he yet pretended to be absolute master of all the dignities and commandries of the order; and the priory of Catalonia with the commandry of Nouvelles falling vacant, he bestowed them on Lewis Borgia his nephew, though the grand master had disposed of them to brother Francis Bossolx, a Catalan, and one of the most illustrious knights of the language of Arragon.

Such a notorious invasion of their privileges occasioned great complaints throughout the order. They wrote about it by their ambassadors to Ferdinand, at that time king of Arragon and Castile. This prince, who, in his wars against the Moors of Granáda, had found no succour so surely to be depended as those of the Spanish knights, entered into their just resentment. He assured the grand master, that he would openly support the nomination he had made of the chevalier Bossolx, and that, so long as he lived, he would never suffer any commandry to be disposed of to his prejudice, and contrary to the rights of the order. This prince wrote at the same time to the pope, and represented to him, that there was no state in Christendom but held the institution and bravery of that noble order in singular veneration; that those illustrious knights were the standing protectors of all the Christian nations that sailed in the Mediterranean; that ever since the foundation of the order, they had always

served as a convoy to pilgrims that went out of devotion to visit the Holy Land and the sepulchre of the Saviour of mankind; that since the increase of their power by the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, they made no use of their forces, as his holiness well knew, but only to succour Christian princes against the infidels; that they spent their revenues, their blood, and their lives, in that service; that the order was daily losing some of its bravest knights in those holy wars, and that very few of them came off without wounds; that it was in consideration and acknowledgment for these important services, that most of the sovereigns of Christendom had given to so useful an order the estates of which the commandries were composed, and that there was not one of them but beheld with concern the attempts that were making to alter this disposition; that they themselves would not sit tamely whilst the possessions which their predecessors had acquired so justly, and by so many dangers and fatigues, were alienating from them, and were given away to strangers; and that after all, there was no depriving them of their right, without damping their zeal, lessening the forces that they kept at sea, and abandoning all the Christians that should undertake any voyages by sea, as a prey to barbarians and infidels.

The pope submitted to the arguments, or rather authority of the king of Arragon and Castile. That pontiff was very sensible, that, amidst the complaints of the Spanish knights, some invectives had been dropped against his intimacy and correspondence with the great Turk. He was obliged, in honour, to wipe off the stains that the poisoning of Zizim had thrown upon him. In order, therefore, to silence

reports so very prejudicial to his reputation, he proposed by his nuncios, to most of the Christian princes, the forming a powerful league against the infidels. He declared publicly, that he himself would be the head of it; and, to impose on such as might call in question the sincerity of his intentions, he named the grand master of Rhodes generalissimo of the Christian army. Such a choice determined most of the sovereigns of Europe to take up arms. The emperor Maximilian, Lewis XII., king of France, the kings of Castile, Portugal and Hungary, the Venetians, and most of the Italian princes entered into the league. The pope sent the news of it to Rhodes: he required the order to maintain four galleys and four other vessels well equipped for its quota during the war, promising, at the same time, to furnish fifteen for his part, and took notice, in a particular letter which he sent to the grand master, that the bishop of Tivoli, his nuncio, was actually fitting them out in the port of Venice.

However positive this promise might be, the grand master, who knew the pope's deceitful mind, was very unwilling to depend upon it; and was so thoroughly persuaded of the certainty of his conjectures on this head, that he would have refused the post of general, if the council of the order had not represented to him, that there were certain periods in which something must necessarily be left to chance; that they had, indeed, but too much reason to apprehend that the pope, notwithstanding this great ostentation of zeal which he affected, still kept up a secret correspondence with the Porte; but that in a crusade and general war undertaken against the infidels, the order was not at liberty to remain in a state of indolence, which would cast a stain on

the bravery of the knights; and that they ought always to be the first to take up arms, and the last to lay them down.

The grand master was sensible, that on such occasions there is no keeping exactly to the rules and dictates of prudence: and a very obliging letter, which he received at the same time from Lewis XII., king of France, determined him entirely. This prince, who was an excellent judge of merit, after paying just eulogiums to the valour and experience of the grand master, told him, that he was sending several vessels well equipped, and provided with land-forces on board, into the Mediterranean; that Philip de Cleves-Ravestein commanded this little fleet, and was expressly enjoined by his instructions to obey him, and do nothing without his orders. The grand master and council, in order to answer, in a suitable manner, the great expectations all Christendom had from the order, made extraordinary efforts, and put to sea a considerable fleet, composed of vessels with high decks, galleys, galliots and barks, well provided. All these vessels lay at anchor, and waited for the coming of the pope's galleys and French vessels under Ravestein's command. But this officer, far from observing his master's instructions, and in hopes of gaining the whole honour of the campaign to himself, without consulting the grand master, besieged the capital of the isle of Mitylene.

The Venetians were at sea with thirty galleys, they were continually expecting those of the pope, and Ravestein flattered himself, that, with these succours, he should have the glory of this conquest. But it was not long before he found that the enterprise exceeded his strength. The place was fortified

with strong bastions, and was defended by a numerous garrison, consisting chiefly of janizaries. Moreover, the French general had not troops to invest it, and the Turks were every moment throwing fresh succours into it. Ravestein, after losing abundance of men in several attacks, was obliged to raise the siege; and, pretending that the season was too far advanced, he returned directly for the coasts of France. The Venetian general wrote the grand master word, that the French had attempted, and afterwards raised the siege of Mitylene without his privity and consent: adding, that there was no depending on the fifteen galleys of the pope, that were so many castles in the air; that he knew only of two, which the duke of Valentinois, his son, was employing at that time against the prince of Piombino, and that they had no notion in Italy of the pontiff's taking up arms against the Turks. Nevertheless the league subsisted some time longer, during which the Christians took the islands of St. Maure from the infidels, which was the only benefit they reaped from this union of the Christian princes. The war that broke out between the French and Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples destroyed it entirely; and the pope, instead of interfering to reconcile those two powers, did all he could to foment their divisions. The Venetians, deserted by the principal of their allies, made a separate peace with the Turk. Ladislaus, king of Hungary, entered into a like treaty with Bajazet, and none stood out but the knights of Rhodes, who, without the least succour from the pope and the other princes of Europe, continued the war against the Turks with the single forces of the order.

Their galleys were at sea, and met off the coasts

of Syria and Egypt, a Turkish and Saracen fleet, richly laden with merchandize, bound from Alexandria to Constantinople. The chevalier de Villaragut, castellan of Emposta, commanded this squadron: he attacked and defeated the convoy of this rich fleet, which he seized on and brought into the port of Rhodes. The prize indeed was considerable, but not sufficient to remove the grand master's concern for the indifference and negligence of his allies. He employed every method, and used the most pressing instances, but to no purpose, in order to give new life to the league, and engage the pope to keep his word the following campaign. That pontiff, who had sufficiently re-established his reputation in having formed a league, employed his thoughts only on the making a great provision for Cæsar Borgia, his favourite son. He was for making that bastard a sovereign prince, and raising his fortune on the ruins of the first houses of Italy.

The other princes of the alliance were, in like manner, entirely taken up with their own private interests. The grand master seeing no cause to expect any thing for the advantage of Christendom under such a pontificate, waited for a change, and in the mean time turned all his care to regulate the constitution of his state, and the manners of his knights and people.

By an edict of the council, he banished the Jews out of the isle of Rhodes, and all the territories of the order, in which they had been settled for several ages. The hereditary aversion of that people for the adorable person of Jesus Christ, made them odious to the grand master; besides, they ruined the subjects of the order by their excessive usury, and were accused of a certain kind of traffic, that was still

more base and infamous. From the same motive of piety, and the spirit of religion, the grand master made severe ordinances against blasphemers, and extended them against the luxury of some knights, that went too fine and gaudy in their apparel. This worthy head of an order, holy in its institution, being as regular a religious as he was a great captain, ordered all his knights, agreeable to what had always been practised in the order, to wear no clothes but what were plain, uniform, of one colour, and without any of those vain embellishments, the result of pride and ambition: and if any one dared to infringe that statute, he was condemned to undergo the discipline for two days, fast for seven, and his clothes were confiscated for the benefit of the poor. All the old commanders, and the most zealous among the knights, highly commended the grand master for this wise regulation. From that moment there were no more to be seen any stuffs of different colours, embroideries, rich furs, or any sort of vain equipage, unsuitable to a set of religious persons, who had made the solemn vow of poverty at the altar. What could one think to see these religious dressed like so many women, perhaps only with a view of seducing them, and having nothing of their profession about them but a bare cross, which they would not have worn, had it not served for a title to the claim they laid to the revenues of the order? It was a happy circumstance, indeed, that at the same time they resumed the modest habit of their profession, they resumed likewise the spirit of it; and the order again found a set of holy religions in the person of its brave knights.

While the grand master was employing himself so worthily in maintaining regular discipline in his



order, one would have thought that the pope had conspired its ruin. That pontiff, ever greedy of wealth, and above all things fond of despotic power, bestowed the richest dignities of the order upon his relations and secular persons, and disposed of them without the privity of the grand master, without the least regard for the nature of the possessions which belonged to an independent and sovereign body, and in violation of all the rights and privileges of the order. This unjust and violent proceeding afflicted the grand master in a very sensible manner. He wrote about it to the pope in very strong terms, such as a true zeal is apt to inspire; but all the answer he had was a continuation of the same injustice; and he had an account, that even after his remonstrances, Alexander had promised the grand priory of Castile to Don Henry de Toledo. This news threw the grand master into a melancholy, which ended in a sickness that proved mortal. The generous old man, a sincere lover of his order, of whose merit and usefulness he was thoroughly persuaded, could not get the better of his grief. His indisposition insensibly became too strong for all the remedies of physic; he sunk under it without losing his ordinary resolution, and saw death steal upon his bed with the same intrepidity that he had so often stared it in the face in war, amidst the most terrible dangers. Thus died, A. D. 1503, at above eighty years of age, Peter d'Aubusson, grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, one of the greatest captains of his age: a man revered by all the princes that lived in his time, the darling and delight of his knights, the father of the poor, the redeemer of Rhodes, and eminently distinguished both by his piety and valour.

His birth was illustrious; he was sprung of one of the most noble and most ancient houses of France, the original of which is not to be traced in the obscurity of the first ages of that monarchy. About the year 887, as Aimar de Chabanois relates, a nobleman of the name of Aubusson was made a viscount in the province of Limousin by king Eudes. The same historian, who lived in 1209, in order to extol the birth of Turpin, bishop of Limoges, says, that he was uncle to Robert, viscount d'Aubusson. But how illustrious soever the grand master's ancestors were, he gloried chiefly in those that had signalised themselves in the wars of the Holy Land. It was to copy after their example, that he devoted himself to the defence of Christians, by entering into the order, and fighting under the banner of St. John; we have now seen in the history of his life, that he was as serviceable to them as he was terrible to the infidels. The order, after his death, inherited his estate; but we may say with justice, that the most valuable treasure he left was the remembrance of his glory and the example of his virtues.

## BOOK VIII.

THOUGH all grand masters are mortal, we may say that the order of St. John is immortal, and that such a republican government, founded upon inviolable laws, and always actuated by a wise council, may lose its head, or some of its members, without losing its solidity. Let whatever will happen, it is always the same spirit that reigns in it: the history of the grand master d'Aubusson furnishes a great example of it. The order was not sensible of

his loss, by reason of the wisdom and zeal of his successor. This successor was brother Emeri d'Amboise, of an ancient and very noble house, which was at that time particularly famous by the celebrated George d'Amboise, brother to the grand master, archbishop of Rouen, cardinal and legate of the holy see, and first minister of France.

The new grand master was in that kingdom, when the chevalier de Gaverston brought him the instrument of his election. This knight was ordered to represent to him, the necessity the order had of the king of France's good offices with the pope, who continued, contrary to their rights and privileges, to put his creatures into all the commandries that fell vacant in the language of Italy. They complained likewise, that by his grant of expectative favours, he anticipated upon the vacant ones; and that, for an inconsiderable sum of money, he not only exempted the knights from their residence at Rhodes, which was so necessary at that time, in order to acquire and preserve a right of seniority; but also dispensed with several from taking the vows of the order, a practice which was entirely unprecedented. Every thing was venal in the court of this avaricious pope; no one, even in his own territories, could be rich with safety; and when he wanted pretences to seize on the estates of the rich, he kept a set of poisoners in his pay, who, by their abominable art, made the richest commandries, and the first dignities of the church, vacant whenever he pleased.

It seemed strange, that, in so holy a post, God should so long suffer a monster that dishonoured it: but, if his justice was slow, it was not less severe; and this pontiff perished by the ordinary instrument

of his cruelties: for his last crime proved fatal to himself.

The pope and his son had long hankered after, and grasped already in their hopes, the inheritance of the great estate of cardinal Adrian Cornetto, who was deemed the richest of the cardinals: but as the old man lived too long for their wishes, they resolved to poison him. The pope invited him to an entertainment in a country house near Rome: the poison was prepared in a bottle of wine, which was to be filled out only for the cardinal: but the pope and the duke of Valentinois coming to the garden before him, called for drink, and the butler, who was in the secret of the bottle, happening not to be there at that moment, another servant filled them wine out of the poisoned bottle, which they drank. Alexander, being old, could not resist the violence of the poison, what remedies soever they applied. Thus died pope Alexander VI., "whose public debaucheries," says P. Daniel in his History of France, "treacheries, boundless ambition, insatiable avarice, cruelty and irreligion, made him the odium of all Europe, in a post to which none ought to be raised but by the practice of virtues the very opposite of his abominable vices."

The duke of Valentinois, being of a stronger constitution, by the help of various remedies, escaped immediate death, but lived in a languishing state; and afterwards lost his life in attempting to reconnoitre a small place that he had besieged.

Thus the church in general, and the order in particular, were delivered from two tyrants, who, by their wicked example, and their unjust government, seemed to have conspired their ruin. The grand master, hearing of their death, and thinking

himself no longer necessary in the court of France, prepared to set out for Rhodes, whereupon he took leave of the king. That prince gave him the utmost demonstrations of kindness, made him a present of a piece of the true cross, and gave him, at the same time, as a testimony of the esteem he had of his valour, the sword that St. Lewis, king of France, had wore in his wars; a present very suitable to the head of an order who was animated with the same spirit as that holy king. The grand master, before his departure, went to the parliament, which was then assembled, in order to verify the bulls relating to the legatine faculties of cardinal d'Amboise, his brother. He told that august assembly, that he would not set out for his own territories without taking leave of that court, to which he assured in general, as likewise to every particular member of it, that he would do them all the good offices that lay in his power.

The grand master had a prosperous voyage, and arrived without any obstacle at Rhodes, and came to an anchor by the mole of St. Nicholas. He was received with the ceremonies usual on such occasions; and in order to obtain true information of the actual state of the whole body of the order, he called a general chapter. Several regulations were made in it, for the supporting of discipline, and for settling good order in the administration of the revenue; and it was highly necessary to take proper measures to prevent the ill designs of the Turks and Saracens. Bajazet and the soldan of Egypt, being exasperated against the knights, who were masters of the sea in all parts of the Levant, had secretly confederated to destroy a power which ruined the commerce of their subjects. The grand

seignior, being now delivered from the inquietude that his brother's life had before given him, could not forgive the knights for receiving a son of that unfortunate prince into their island. He was called Amurath, and, not thinking himself safe in the sultan's dominions, had taken refuge at Rhodes. Bajazet, in revenge, had given orders to all the corsairs that sailed under his banner, to make descents in all the isles that owned the grand master as their sovereign. The soldan, too, had agreed to raise a strong army to lay siege to Rhodes: but as there was no wood in his dominions to build ships, the grand seignior lent him four galleys well equipped, and allowed that prince's ambassador to purchase several merchant ships in the port of Constantinople: these the ambassador loaded with timber, iron, sails, and all other necessary rigging; besides this succour, that minister obtained leave for the soldan to cut down timber in the forests about mount Negro, and along the gulf of Ajazzo. These preparations were not intended only for the war of Rhodes. The soldan, whose name was Campson Gauri, designed part of them against the Portuguese, who were grown formidable along the coasts of the Red Sea, and over all the East. They were to carry this timber ready framed to the port of Alexandria, from whence they transported it upon camels to Suez, a small town, seated on the edge of the Red Sea, near the place where the Israelites had crossed under the conduct of Moses.

Emanuel, king of Portugal, one of the greatest kings of that nation, was then making war upon Naubeadarin, king of Calicut: the spice-trade had drawn the Portuguese into his territories, which lie along the coast of Malabar, in the peninsula on this

with all the cannon of their vessels. The governor was an old knight, of the language of Italy, and, being then extremely ill, he had committed the defence of this little place to Paul Simeoni, a Piedmontese knight, scarcely eighteen years old. This young knight, having no garrison nor soldiers, but only some poor inhabitants, that cultivated the least rocky places of the isle, put a good face upon the matter, and fired briskly on the infidels that battered the place; but as their artillery had beaten down a great pannel of the wall of his castle, he, to intimidate the enemy, and prevent their making an assault, dressed the inhabitants of the island, and also their wives, in the habit of knights, with the white cross; and lined the breach with this new militia. The Turks taking them to be really knights, imagined that they were a reinforcement which had landed in the isle by night, and raised the siege with precipitation, for fear of being surprised by the galleys of the order, which owed the preservation of this fort to the resolution and address of young Simeoni.

The soldan of Egypt, pursuant to the treaty he had made with Bajazet, sent seven flutes into those seas; a sort of long vessels with a low deck, provided with oars as well as sails. These flutes had land forces on board, and the commodore's design was to make an attempt on the isle of Lango. Two of these vessels advancing to reconnoitre, were discovered by the sentinels of the castle. The governor immediately ordered out two galleys, which intercepted their retreat. The Saracens, not thinking themselves strong enough to fight them, and not able to get back to their squadron, made for the coast of Lango, ran their ships on shore, and hid

themselves in the island. The knights, knowing they could not escape being taken, lost no time in pursuing them, but towed off the two flutes, put christian soldiers and seamen on board of them, with two knights, that got into the same course which the infidels had held before. The other five flutes, seeing the two that preceded them, came up without mistrust; but they were strangely surprised to see themselves attacked: they were still more so, when they saw the two galleys of the order appear from behind a cape of the island, and lay them aboard. The infidels, after a smart attack, were forced to strike, and were all made slaves in the galleys, as well as those that had fled to the island, where they were soon discovered.

This little advantage was succeeded by a much more considerable enterprise, that was executed by one of the vessels of the order, A. D. 1507. There went every year from Alexandria a great carack, laden with silks, spices, and all sorts of merchandise, which the soldan's subjects brought from the Indies by the Red Sea, and were carried in this vessel from Egypt into Africa, and to Tunis, and up as far as Constantinople. This ship was of so extraordinary a bulk, that they say the top of the highest mast of the largest galleys was not near the height of the prow of this prodigious machine. Six men were scarcely able to encircle the mast with their arms. This vessel had seven stories, two of which were lower than the surface of the water: it was able to carry, besides its freight, and the merchants and seamen necessary for the working and sailing of it, a thousand soldiers for its defence; it was a sort of floating castle, mounted with above a hundred pieces of cannon: the Saracens called



this carack the Queen of the Sea : the knights, during the government of Aubusson, had attempted several times to come up with it and attack it, but never could carry their point. The order was more lucky under his successor. Advice being brought that it was at sea, the grand master ordered the chevalier de Gastineau, commander of Limoges, to go on board the admiral galley of the order, and endeavour to meet the carack and engage it; but to make use of artifice rather than force, and to be particularly careful neither to burn or sink it. The commander, pursuant to his orders, set sail, steering his course for Candia, and cruised a little beyond that island, to wait the coming up of the prize. The carack soon appeared, and discovered the Christian galley: but the Saracens, presuming on their own force, and the superiority of their artillery, would not change their course; so far from that, they viewed their enemy with contempt, and thought it rashness in the Christian to put himself in their way, as if he had a mind to be taken, and surrender himself up into his hands.

The knight however still kept on his course, and seeing himself within cannon shot, sent one of his officers in his long boat to summon the captain of the carack to deliver up his ship. The Saracen replied, that the ship belonged to the soldan, his master: that he had by his orders commanded her several years, without having met any enemy in those seas daring enough to attack him, and required him to tell his commander, that he had a number of brave Mussulmen on board, who would lose their lives rather than lose their honour and their liberty. The knight, upon receiving this answer, and as if he had a mind to make up this affair by way of

treaty, sent his officer back to the Saracen, to represent to him, that his superiors had given him express orders to attack him, whether strong or weak; that he could not help obeying them, and therefore could only offer them, if they would surrender, to give them good quarter; but that in case they would not, he would either burn or sink them. By means of these parleys, and the time which was spent in dispatching the Christian officer backwards and forwards, the commander, who had no design but to amuse them, was still advancing forwards, and was come almost insensibly up close to the carack; so that the Saracens having threatened to throw the envoy into the sea, if he returned with such proposals, he was no sooner got on board the galley of the order, than the commander let fly a broadside of his cannon loaded with cartridges, which killed the Saracen captain, and most of the officers, as well as soldiers and seamen, that were upon the deck. The merchants, soldiers and seamen, that were left in the carack, affrighted at the terrible havock that was made by this volley, and seeing them preparing to fire a second broadside, struck, and offered to yield. The commander obliged the principal of them to come on board his galley, and at the same time sent a party of his own officers and seamen on board their vessel, to take the management of it. It would be impossible to relate the immense wealth that was found in this prize, besides vast sums of money and precious stones belonging to the merchants.

The soldan sent several bales of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and a great quantity of rich tapestry, camlets, and various sorts of commodities of great value, for the ransom of the merchants and



his other subjects. The vessels of the order, a few days after, also took three ships of the Saracens, near the coast of Cyprus, and sent the merchandise on board them to be sold in France; the produce of the sale being laid out in cannon, arms and ammunition, which the agents of the order sent to Rhodes.

The soldan, incensed at these losses, resolved to augment his naval force, and to have always a certain number of galleys in the Mediterranean and Red Sea, A. D. 1510. That prince sent twenty-five vessels of different bulk into the gulf of Ajazzo, to transport the timber which he had caused to be cut and ready framed there, and designed to make use of for the building of new vessels.

The grand master having certain advice of the arrival of this Egyptian fleet in the gulf, and that this new armament was designed against a Christian prince, resolved to oppose it. He proposed the matter to the council. Several of the grand crosses thought the enterprise dangerous, by reason of the forces of the soldan: but as the order was stronger at sea than that prince, and, besides, the council was persuaded of the wisdom and prudence of the grand master, his opinion prevailed, and they allowed him to draw out of the treasury the money necessary for this expedition. He gave orders for equipping the great carack, and they fitted out at the same time four galleys of the order, and eighteen vessels of several sizes. As the king of Portugal's interest was chiefly concerned in this war, the grand master gave the command of the galleys to Andrew d'Amaral, a Portuguese, of the language of Castile, commander of Vera Cruz, a brave knight, and well skilled in naval affairs, but proud, con-

ceited, and too much prepossessed in favour of his own valour and capacity.

The ships were under the command of the chevalier de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam: the grand master chose him for this employment, on account of the esteem and reputation he had in the order, which he had merited by his valour and wise conduct in commanding.

The galleys, sailing out of the port of Rhodes, came up to the isle of Cyprus, and coasted along the island. The commander, de l'Isle Adam, to avoid being becalmed, kept out to sea; and both, according to appointment, came by different ways to cape St. André, which is on the east of the kingdom of Cyprus. When the whole fleet of the order was joined, they held a council of war upon the manner of their attacking the infidels. The two chieftains, I mean d'Amaral and l'Isle Adam, were of different opinions. The Frenchman proposed to wait, and surprise the ships when they should be at sea with the timber on board; d'Amaral was for going to attack them in the bottom of the gulf, without considering that they might be defended by batteries erected on the shore; and pretended to make his opinion pass for a law, at the same time that he rejected that of l'Isle Adam with contempt. The debate grew very hot; the two generals were on the point of fighting; but the Frenchman, having more moderation, and fearing that the quarrel might cause the enterprise to miscarry, sacrificed his resentment to the common good of the order, and submitted to d'Amaral's opinion. The whole fleet then discovered itself, and entered full sail into the gulf. The commodore of the Saracens was the soldan's nephew: the young prince, who

wanted no courage, seeing the Rhodian fleet, put his land forces on board his ships, weighed anchor, advanced to meet the knights, and offered them battle. There were excellent pilots on board the Christian fleet, who contrived to get the wind of the enemy; the infidels, however, were no ways daunted at it, but fought with the same courage. The artillery was played equally well on both sides, and the generals fought, and obliged their soldiers to fight like men that would not outlive their defeat. The continual fire of the cannon and small arms, the crash and havoc of the shipping, the shooting down of the masts, and sinking of several vessels, caused the loss of abundance of men on both sides; and after an obstinate engagement of three hours, it was scarcely discernible on what side the victory inclined: and, in all probability, if they had continued firing and cannonading only at a distance, the battle would not have been soon ended; but the knights, by order of their generals, and following their example, leaped sword in hand into the enemy's vessels. This soon changed the face of the combat; and as, when they came to grapple, a knight had a great advantage over a Saracen, in courage and in address, the Egyptians lost several ships. Most of the infidels got into their long boats, whilst others threw themselves into the sea, and swam to the shore. Such as were so fortunate as to get thither, fled into the woods and mountains; only their general chose rather to die honorably fighting, than either abandon his ships or surrender.

The knights captured eleven ships and four galleys, and sunk the rest. They afterwards landed, and pursued the fugitives, most of whom were taken, and made slaves; and after setting fire to

the timber which the Egyptians had framed, they returned to Rhodes with the captured vessels, and a great number of prisoners.

These prizes made the treasury ample amends for the expence of this armament; especially at a time when the knights not only devoted their prizes to the common good of the order, but also all the money that could be spared out of the revenues of the commandries. We have a remarkable instance of this in brother Charles l'Aleman de la Roche Chinnard, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, who, only reserving a small sum out of his income for his maintenance, employed, as long as he lived, the profits of his priory, either in ornamenting the altars, or in the defence and service of the order: and it was particularly observed, that, during the mastership of the grand master d'Aubusson, he sent to Rhodes the statues of the twelve apostles, which he had caused to be made of gilt plate, and which weighed two hundred marks of silver; that he afterwards sent thither a gold ring, representing the Saviour of mankind, the statues of the holy Virgin and St. John Baptist, both of massy gold, and weighing fourscore marks, a chalice, and several rich ornaments for the altar: and this year, A. D. 1511, he made the prioral church a present of fifteen pictures, which cost a thousand crowns, each of them having a cross of fine gold, similar to those worn by the knights, and weighing thirty marks. In fine, this knight built, at his own expence, a noble palace, to serve as an inn to the knights of the language of Provence, to whom he likewise sent four pieces of artillery, with their carriages; and he left himself, before his death, no more than ten thousand crowns, which he deposited

in the bank of St. George at Genoa, for the benefit of the body of the order; with the view, that if Rhodes should be besieged, the knights might find that supply ready for the purchase of arms and ammunition: dispositions so truly christian and religious, that we thought ourselves obliged to transmit the remembrance of them to posterity, and to propose them for an example to the commanders, who, under that honorable title, are really no more than the administrators of the revenues that belong to the body of the order, and the common treasury. It was from the same spirit, that the grand master d'Amboise employed the revenues annexed to his dignity, either in the relief of the poor, who beheld him as their father, or in making fortifications at Rhodes; but death surprised him in the midst of such laudable employments, in his seventy-eighth year, A. D. 1512, the greatest part of which he had spent in the practice of Christian virtues. He was a wise prince, skilful in the arts of government, successful in all his enterprises, and one who enriched his order with the spoils of the infidels without increasing his own wealth; for he died poor, at the same time that he left not one poor man in his dominions.

We may justly apply to the grand master d'Aubusson what is said of Raimond Dupuy, of blessed memory, the first military grand master of the order, viz. that most of his pupils proved his successors. Indeed, upon the loss that the order had sustained by the death of the grand master d'Amboise, they thought they could not repair it better than by making choice of brother Guy de Blanchefort, grand prior of Auvergne, nephew to the grand master d'Aubusson, during whose mastership he

had a considerable share in the government of the order, and particularly in the guard and care of prince Zizim.

Whilst messengers were gone from Rhodes to France, to carry the prior de Blanchfort news of his election, the council of the order received a brief from Julius II., who was then on the throne of St. Peter, inviting the principal knights to repair immediately to the council of Lateran, which that pontiff had called, in order to balance the authority of the assembly called at Pisa against him, at the request of the emperor Maximilian I. of Lewis XII. king of France, and five cardinals. The pope in his brief told the council of the order, that he designed to intrust the knights of St. John with the guard of the council. The design of this warlike pope was to get a considerable body of those knights into his party, and engage them to serve in his troops. But the council being well informed, that the business of that council was not so much to take care of the interests of religion, as to support the ambitious projects of Julius, who had put all Christendom in a flame, did not think proper to intermeddle in affairs that bore so little conformity to their institution. They excused themselves on account of the absence and distance of the new grand master, from making any considerable detachment on that account. To show some deference however to the orders of the pope, the first spiritual superior of the order, they ordered the chevalier Fabricio Caretto, admiral of the order, who was then residing at the court of Rome, in quality of their procurator-general, to raise in Italy and in the pope's territories a number of knights, and to go at the head of them to offer their service to that pontiff.



To this prudent resolution they were also impelled by the accounts they had received at Rhodes of the mighty preparations which the Turks were making in all their ports; and this made the lieutenant of the mastership, and all the council, resolve not to let any knight go out of the island. They dispatched at the same time the chevalier John de Fournon to the grand master, to press him to come thither as soon as possible. The commander Caretto, who had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, had orders likewise to repair thither with the pope's permission, and bring with him two ships laden with corn, recruits and supplies of several sorts for the garrisons of fort St. Peter, and the isles of the order; and they sent at the same time detachments of knights thither, to provide for the defence and preservation of those places.

The news of the Turkish armament spreading itself over Europe, made the grand master hurry away, though he found himself dangerously ill. He embarked at Villa Franca near Nice; but the sea made his illness much worse. The knights that attended him seeing themselves off Trapani, a town of Sicily, would have persuaded him to put in there, and be carried ashore: but the grand master, who had more regard to the interests of his order than to his own life, fearing that if he should die in that place, the pope would hear of his death before his successor was elected, and take upon him to dispose of the grand mastership, ordered that they should keep on their course for Rhodes. After some days sail, as they were off the isle of Zante, he felt the approaches of death. He faced it with the same intrepidity as he had so often showed in the many engagements he had been in; and after discharging

all the duties of a Christian and a true religious, he devoted his last moments to the preservation of the sovereignty and temporal independence of the order. To prevent any attempt from the court of Rome against the freedom of election, he ordered the knights that attended him, as soon as the breath was out of his body, and before the news of his death could reach Italy, to dispatch a caraval, well provided with excellent rowers, to carry the news of his death to Rhodes with all possible expedition. His last orders were punctually executed; the caraval arrived at Rhodes December 13, 1513. The day following the chapter met, and chose admiral Caretto for grand master, a dignity that had been foretold him by the grand master d'Aubusson, as has been already mentioned in the seventh book of this history, and which he deserved, not only from a series of gallant actions, but also by the negotiations that he had carried on at the courts of Christian princes with great wisdom and dexterity.

As soon as he had taken possession of his eminent post, he called a general chapter. As they expected they were going to be besieged, most of the regulations related either to warlike stores, or the subsistence of the knights that were necessary for the defence of Rhodes. The grand master undertook to provide for every thing, and engaged to maintain five hundred and fifty knights, that actually resided in the convent, for the sum of forty thousand crowns, which was to be paid him annually out of the treasury. They assigned him likewise a farther sum of twenty three thousand crowns for the extraordinary charges of the artillery, and the maintenance of sultan Amurath, Zizim's son, who had turned Christian, and had the castle of Feracle

in the isle of Rhodes given him by the order for his residence, where he led a very exemplary life. The grand master, by means of a rich merchant of Lyons, Laurensin by name, got a large train of artillery from France, and sent thither at the same time, in quality of ambassador of the order, brother Philip de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, whom we have already mentioned, hospitaller and grand prior of France, in which kingdom he acted as visitor and lieutenant to the grand master.

The war which they were apprehensive of at Rhodes from the Turks, was suspended by some domestic dissensions that broke out at the porte. Bajazet was still upon the throne, a gouty and infirm prince, that delighted only in eating and drinking, or in searching after some of the secrets of nature, a lazy and voluptuous philosopher but a very weak prince.

This prince had three sons, Achomat, Corcut and Selim: the first, either from a political view, or natural inclination, passed his life in luxury and shameful indolence. Corcut, who has been already mentioned, and whom the janizaries, after the death of Mahomet II. his grandfather, had seated on the throne, in order to secure the possession of it to his father, affected a great air of devotion, and was never seen without the Alcoran in his hand. Selim, the youngest of the three, loved war, and omitted nothing that might gain him a reputation in it. Among three princes of such different characters, Bajazet was for declaring Achomat his successor; the similitude and conformity of their taste for pleasures occasioned this distinguishing affection in his favour. Selim being informed of his intentions, employed every artifice in order to traverse them.

He found means to get the janizaries into his interest; and those troops being gained by Selim's money, waited only for an opportunity of declaring in his favour.

The grand seignior and the king of Persia, being both too powerful and too near neighbours to live in good understanding for any time together, declared war against each other. The janizaries, a body of troops always terrible to such of their sovereigns as do not make themselves dreaded by them, before they marched into the field, demanded a prince to command them; and Selim must be that prince, in spite of Bajazet, who had named them his eldest son for their general. They carried their insolence still higher: they required of weak Bajazet, as a security of their pay, to deliver up the keys of the treasury to their new general. The unhappy old man understood the meaning of this: he came down from the throne and quitted Constantinople, to retire to Demotica, a country-house which he had built by the side of the Euxine sea. But Selim, who was diffident of his inclination for Achomat, got him poisoned by his physician: he afterwards caused his two brothers with their wives and children to be strangled. Such were the steps by which he mounted to sovereign power: in other respects he was a great captain, always on horseback, indefatigable, sober, not given to any pleasure, nor affected with any thing but glory, which he sought all his life-time in the dangers of war.

This prince's ambition, his courage, his power, the forces of his empire, all contributed to alarm his neighbours. Ismael king of Persia was the first that he fell upon. Selim invaded his dominions, passed the Euphrates, gave him battle, routed him, and

took the famous city of Taurus. The Persian to make head against so formidable an enemy, endeavoured to form alliances with the princes his neighbours. He sent an ambassador to the grand master, who in the habit of a merchant, and by the assistance of a Turk, who was an inhabitant of Tarsus in Cilicia, and had a pass from the order, got safe through Selim's territories, and came to Rhodes. He was received in that place with all the regard due to the greatness of his master, and the importance of the affair he was come to negotiate. This minister treated with the council, and concluded a league against the common enemy. Campson Gauri, soldan of Egypt, who was as much afraid of Selim as the rest, entered likewise into the treaty. The grand seignior, having advice of these various negotiations, sent ambassadors to Cairo, to disengage the soldan from the league; but not succeeding in his design, he turned his arms against that prince, and in less than four years time reduced Syria, Palestine, the maritime places of the Red Sea, a great part of Arabia, and all Egypt: and having entirely destroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, he left the government of Egypt to Cair-beg, and that of Syria to Gazelles, two lords who had been principal officers among the Mamelukes, but who, in breach of the fidelity which they owed to their sovereigns, had deserted them, and gone over to the Turks. Selim returned to Constantinople covered with glory after these great exploits; and immediately set to work in fitting out two hundred galleys, which he designed for the conquest of the isle of Rhodes.

The precaution so necessary for a conqueror of being informed of the fortifications of a place which he intends to besiege, made him send a Jewish phy-

isian to Rhodes as a spy. This traitor, in order to be the less suspected, got himself baptized: his skill, and the want they were in of such a man of his character, soon introduced him into the principal houses of the city: and when he had discovered the weak places of the fortifications, he gave an exact account of them to the ministers of the porte. Whilst they were continually at work in the arsenals upon the preparations necessary for this enterprise, Selim fell ill of the stone, others say of a cancer in the reins, of which he died at the age of forty years, after having destroyed the empire of the Mamalukes, subdued Syria and Palestine, triumphed over all the forces of Persia, taken the maritime towns of the Red Sea, and great part of Arabia, and reduced all Egypt into one province only of his empire: all which conquests he finished in a reign of less than eight years.

Solyman II., his only son, succeeded him in the government of this vast empire almost at the same time that Charles V. was elected emperor of Germany. Solyman was scarcely twenty years old. Gazelles, governor of Syria, had been faithful to his father, whom he stood in fear of, and whose power kept him in awe: but thinking himself freed from his engagements by the death of that prince, as soon as he heard the news of it, he thought of raising up the empire of the Mamalukes again, and was not without hopes of ascending the throne himself. He wanted neither courage nor capacity for the carrying on so great a design, but as he had not forces sufficient singly to oppose the formidable power of the Turks, he secretly dispatched one of his confidants to Cair-beg, governor of Egypt, in order to endeavour to engage him in his intended

revolt. His agent represented to him in his behalf, that, under the reign of a young prince, whom he looked upon as a child, nothing could be more easy or more glorious for both of them, than to unite their forces, and employ them to deliver their nation from the tyranny of the Turks.

But Cair-beg preferred a fortune already made, which was as great as a private man could enjoy, to the uncertain success of an enterprise of so desperate a nature, which, though it should chance to succeed, Gazelles, nevertheless, would probably reap all the benefit of it. To clear himself therefore of all manner of suspicion of infidelity, he put the envoy of Gazelles to death, dispatching, at the same time, an express to the Porte, in order to acquaint the grand seignior and his ministers with the dangerous projects of the governor of Syria.

Solyman immediately sent a strong army against him, under the command of Ferhat basha, one of the ablest generals of his father. Gazelles, not seeing his agent return, began to be apprehensive that he was betrayed by the governor of Egypt. As he had gone too far to retreat, and the bare debating whether one shall continue faithful to a sovereign, is a breach of faith that merits chastisement, he summoned about him all the surviving Mamlukes that were dispersed up and down in different places. All Syria by his orders took up arms; and he sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, to desire a train of artillery of the grand master, which he wanted, in order to make head against their common enemy.

The grand master, overjoyed to see war breaking out between the infidels, immediately sent him cannon and ammunition, with several excellent

officers of artillery. Gazelles employed them to his advantage; and though he was every moment expecting the Turkish army, which was on its march, he yet besieged Tripoli, Baruth, and several other places of Phœnicia, which he reduced. His conquests were interrupted by the arrival of Ferhat basha. Though the Egyptian had fewer troops, he saw plainly, that he had no resource but in a victory: he marched straight against the Turks: the two armies soon came to an engagement, and the victory was disputed a long time. Gazelles, at the head of his Mamalukes, sustained all the efforts of the Turkish armies for six hours together: he rallied his troops several times, charged always at their head, and killed several officers of the janizaries with his own hand: in fine, after losing the best part of his men, oppressed with numbers, and surrounded on all sides, he chose to die fighting, rather than take quarter. He fell covered over with wounds, upon a heap of Mamalukes that had met the same fate. His death put an end to the war, and utterly destroyed that body of soldiers, who had disposed of the throne of Egypt at their pleasure, for upwards of two hundred years.

The grand seignior was not long before he was informed of the leagues which the knights of Rhodes had entered into against sultan Selim, his father. His ministers represented to him, that those knights, by their fleets and armaments, were masters of the sea; that they had several times intercepted the convoys they were sending to Syria and Egypt; that they kept several Turkish officers in chains, whom they had taken prisoners; that corsairs were continually putting to sea from Rhodes and the other isles of the order, to disturb the commerce of



his subjects; and, to raise his resentment to the height, they put him in mind of the succours they sent to Gazelles, to support him in his rebellion. Solyman resolved to invade that island, and was particularly confirmed in that design by some memorials that sultan Selim had left, wherein was this observation, that, to secure the frontiers of his empire, it was necessary to take the town of Belgrade in Europe, and the island of Rhodes in Asia.

But Solyman, before he engaged in two such difficult enterprises, seeing himself in possession of such a vast empire, was desirous of establishing his authority upon principles and maxims of a very different nature from those which his predecessors had followed. Before Solyman's reign, force alone, with respect to the neighbouring princes, determined both peace and war, and was the sovereign rule of the enterprises of his predecessors; at the same time that a barbarous despotic power was the only law that prevailed within the kingdom. The bashas plundered the people with impunity; the prince, in his turn, squeezed these sponges, and frequently put the greatest of them to death; under such a government no rich man could be innocent. Solyman's conduct was entirely opposite: he never made war without declaring it, and he never declared it without having a plausible pretence for doing so, which, after all, politic princes are seldom wanting in. His subjects, under his reign saw, perhaps for the first time, justice and equity reign together. This prince, the greatest monarch that ever sat upon the Turkish throne, issued a proclamation throughout all his dominions, the purport of which was, that all such as had been unjustly deprived of their estates by his father and ancestors, by applying themselves only

to him, would have justice done them. The unjust possessors of those estates, which were appointed for the keeping up of temples and mosques, were severely punished: he restored the authority of the courts of judicature, which had been laughed at in the preceding reigns. Several cadis or judges, that had prevaricated in their posts, were condemned to death: and as to the grandees and bashas, he never put any of them to death for the sake of their riches, but only punished such as grew so by extortions, and abusing their power; in a word, he declared war against vice, injustice and violence, before he carried his arms against the enemies of his law.

Such was Solyman, when he resolved to make war upon the Christians. This prince being told that Amurath II. and Mahomet II. had miscarried at the sieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, fancied that such an enterprise would be an honour to his first attempt in war. He resolved to begin with the siege of Belgrade; but, to hinder the Hungarians from making timely preparations for their defence, his ministers, by his orders, gave out, that his designs were directly levelled against the isle of Rhodes.

The grand master, in order to be prepared, built new walls in such parts of the city as seemed most to want them. They augmented the fortifications of the place, and filled the magazines with corn, ammunition, and provisions. The pope, at the request of this vigilant grand master, sent three galleys well provided to the succour of the order; and Francis I., king of France, furnished, at the same time, nine galleys, four brigantines, and four barks, well equipped. This little fleet arrived safe at Rhodes, under the command of the baron de St. Blancard.

But Solyman had no sooner made his real designs

public by the siege of Belgrade, than those foreign ships returned home. Hungary was at that time under a young prince, a minor, whose name was Lewis, and son of Ladislaus; or, rather there were as many princes as great men in the kingdom, who tore it to pieces by their domestic dissensions, arising from a reciprocal emulation, and who were greater enemies to one another than to the infidels. The grand seignior, the better to conceal his designs, had sent an ambassador to the young king, to notify to him his accession to the empire: but, instead of receiving that minister with the respect due to his character, the lords of the council had treated him as a spy, and hindered him from returning to his master.

Solyman, resenting this shameful violation of the law of nations, after having demanded satisfaction to no purpose, sent Pyrrhus basha, at the head of a great body of horse, to invest the town of Belgrade, anciently the capital of the country called Rascia. This place, which was built on the edge of a hill at the confluence of the Save and Danube, was, besides the fortifications which nature had bestowed upon it, surrounded with a double wall, flanked at proper distances with great towers well provided with artillery; and, on an eminence which commanded the town, there was a castle, anciently called Taurunum. It was strengthened with all the fortifications that art could invent, and was then looked upon as impregnable.

Solyman closely followed the basha, and soon appeared at the head of a formidable army. The trenches were opened, batteries were raised, and the Turks carried on their works with the utmost diligence. All Europe fixed their eyes on the siege

of a place, which they considered as one of the bulwarks of Christendom. The knights of Rhodes especially interested themselves in it, and the rather, because they judged if the Turk should carry Belgrade without any opposition from the Christian princes, that success would probably determine him to undertake the siege of Rhodes next.

While they were under this uneasiness, the grand master fell ill, and was carried off rather suddenly. He was a liberal prince, magnificent, charitable, a lover of his people, and desirous to be beloved by them; and, what was very rare in that age, he was learned in the dead languages, and spoke most of the living ones with great facility. His death was so much the more considerable loss to the order at this juncture, as the knights, who were going to have a war with the Porte, could the easier have obtained succours from most of the Christian princes, he being highly in their esteem, having often negotiated with them during his embassy at Rome.

The order not being able to continue without a head, as soon as the funeral was solemnized, assembled to choose a successor. Brother Andrew d'Amaral, chancellor of the order, and grand prior of Castile, whom we have already mentioned, on occasion of his dispute with the chevalier de l'Isle-Adam, demanded that eminent dignity, with as much arrogance and presumption, as if he thought he should thereby do a favour to the order, by condescending to accept it. He had not, indeed, been thought unworthy of it, had he not been the first to do himself that justice: his presumption, and the contempt he discovered for his rivals, occasioned all unanimously to declare against him; so that the votes were divided only between sir Thomas Docray, grand prior of

England, and brother Philip de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, hospitaller and grand prior of France. The Englishman was distinguished by sublimity of genius, and his great skill in treating with princes, at whose courts he had been employed on important embassies; and, in a juncture when Rhodes was threatened with a siege, some regard was also had to the great riches which that knight possessed. L'Isle-Adam had acquired great consideration and general esteem in the order, by his wise conduct in all his employments, and by his open and candid behaviour, full of frankness and integrity, and which was too natural for ambition and hypocrisy to counterfeit for a long time together.

This lord was then absent; he had no partisans in the assembly but the remembrance of his services, and the knowledge of his virtues. It was owing only to a reputation so well established, that he had a plurality of voices in his favour, so that he was declared grand master, January 22, 1521. All the knights applauded the choice the electors had made, and there was universal joy over the whole island.

D'Amaral alone was mad with vexation; and, in the first transports of his passion, could not help saying to a Spanish commander, who was his friend, that l'Isle-Adam would be the last grand master that should reign at Rhodes. Time, instead of mollifying the violence of his resentment, served only to increase it. It is said, that his private animosity against the person of the grand master, increased to a violent hatred against the order in general; and that, tormented with rage, he took a resolution to extirpate it, and destroy the mother that nursed him. Full of these deadly designs, Besio relates

that he unbosomed himself to a Turkish slave, a man whom he had found very capable of carrying on an intrigue. The slave, who saw a prospect of recovering his liberty by this negotiation, readily entered into his measures; and, under pretence of going into his own country to procure money for his ransom, went privately to Constantinople. He was entrusted with a letter from the chancellor d'Amaral to the grand seignior. In this letter the chancellor pressed that prince to besiege Rhodes; and, in order to convince him of the facility with which he might succeed in that enterprise, he annexed an ample memorial to this letter, containing an account of the present state of the city, the weakest parts of the place, the number of knights and troops provided for its defence, and what provisions and ammunition it had to sustain a siege. He added, that the council had just demolished part of the bastion of Anvergne, in order to rebuild it on a more solid foundation; and that if his highness would lose no time in making his army advance, he would find the place open on that side, and in a defenceless condition. Solyman was still in Hungary: D'Amaral's slave, in his absence, delivered his packet to the ministers he had left at Constantinople, which they sent by an express to the grand seignior. That prince was delighted to find, in the person of the chancellor, a privileged spy, who having by his dignity admittance into all the councils, could send certain and exact advices. They sent the slave back to him with promises of a vast recompense if he could contribute to the success of his highness's designs. The chancellor, as Bosio relates, still full of rage, and infatuated by his passion, was pleased to see a way open to his vengeance; and for fear

they should be alarmed at his slave's return, gave out that he was only come back to bring him his ransom. Such an excess of confidence for a slave, whom he had suffered to go upon his parole, his return, and the great civilities that the chancellor showed him, appeared a little extraordinary; but that lord's authority, and the dread they were under of making a proud haughty man their enemy, who was known to be implacable in his hatred, stifled these suspicions, or at least prevented their breaking out.

In the mean time the new grand master having received an account of his election, prepared to set out. As he was well informed that Rhodes was threatened with a siege, he signified it to all his order, by a general summons, which he sent into all the states of Christendom. He collected all the responsions he could, and laid them out in warlike stores; and, after taking leave of the king of Burgundy, came to Marseilles, where he embarked. He went on board the great carrack, and the rest of his train and equipage, with the stores that he was carrying to Rhodes, followed in four feluccas. Unluckily, as he was off Nice, a fire broke out in the carrack, by the carelessness of an officer of his table: the flame spread in a moment to different parts of the ship, the sails and cordage were burned to ashes in an instant, and flakes of flame and smoke made the terror still greater, and likewise hindered the seamen in the service they were doing. In the disorder and confusion usual in such accidents, all were for throwing themselves into the sea to swim ashore, or shelter themselves in the feluccas, which were not far off; but the grand master forbade any to stir out of the ship on pain of death. A new fear,

and the respect for his orders, served instead of resolution; the most timorous returned to their posts, and all laboured in concert to extinguish the fire, which they at last effected; and the carrack was saved by the very persons that would have abandoned it.

Scarcely had the grand master escaped the danger of the fire, when another element, no less formidable, threw him into fresh dangers. There arose a furious tempest: the sea was all in motion; the winds blew with violence, and raised the billows to a dreadful height; the pilot could no longer manage the helm; and as if heaven had been resolved, in concert with the sea, upon the destruction of the carrack, the thunder, after having roared for a long time together, fell upon the ship, broke into the stern room, killed nine men, and broke the grand master's sword to pieces, without hurting the scabbard. The seamen did not fail to make dismal presages from these various accidents: and I cannot say whether the knights that were with the grand master were altogether free from the like fancies, especially at a time when the Turks threatened the isle of Rhodes, and that men had a great deal of faith in omens. But the grand master, without regarding any of these vain prognostics, put into the port of Syracuse, got his ships refitted, and was preparing to keep on his voyage, when they brought him advice, that Curtogli, a famous corsair, and a favourite of the grand seignior, was waiting for him as he passed with a strong squadron of galleys and ships, much superior to his escort.\* The corsair, besides the hopes of booty, had formed this enterprise with the design of revenging the death of two of his bro-

\* Bosio, t. 2. Lib. 18. p. 625.



thers, who had been killed in engagements against the knights; and designed also, if he could make a prize of some felucca, or take any knight prisoner, to make an exchange for his third brother, who was at that time a slave at Rhodes.

The principal citizens of Syracuse endeavoured to persuade the grand master to avoid meeting with the corsair, who was formidable in those seas both for his forces and valour: but that great man, who never knew what danger meant, went out of the harbour, crowded all the sail he could make, made Capo Malio, called also St. Angelo, where the infidels waited for him, passed it in the night, and arrived safe at Rhodes, where he was received with the usual ceremonies, and with the joy and respect due to his dignity and merit. His presence heightened, as it were, the courage and confidence of the knights: it looked as if he seemed to have brought an army in his single person: no man dreaded any longer a siege; several even wished it, in order to have frequent opportunities of signalizing their valour: and Solyman, who was so much dreaded in Hungary, scarce raised the least apprehensions at Rhodes.

That young prince had just made himself master of Belgrade. The happy success of that siege made him expect the like against the city of Rhodes; and besides the desire of acquiring glory by such an important conquest, he was also induced to it by the continual complaints of his trading subjects, who were often taken by the knights; and especially by the remonstrance of the musti, who was continually representing to him, that those Christian capers disturbed the pilgrimages to Mecca, and that he was obliged in conscience to put a stop to their cruising.

Solyman was very zealous for his religion, and well enough disposed to turn his arms that way; but as he was a wise prince, and never engaged in any enterprise without communicating it to his council, he laid the matter before them in order to its being debated.

Some bashas represented to him all the difficulties of it, the fortifications of the place, the valour of the knights as well as of the inhabitants, being most of them corsairs; the mighty succours that the grand master would infallibly draw from Christendom: that this spark might raise a great flame, and produce a league and crusade of all the sovereigns of Europe; and that his illustrious ancestors and the soldans of Egypt, having in different ages attempted this conquest, had been always baffled, and lost abundance of men without being able to carry their point.

Mustapha, on the contrary, who had married Solyman's sister, and was a very brave general, guessing at the sultan's secret inclination, represented to him, like a true courtier, that all the valour of the knights could never resist his victorious arms; that he had such a great number of troops, who were all such good soldiers, that he could cover the whole island with his numerous armies; whereas the grand master had only a hundred men for his defence; that they had nothing to fear from the Christian princes who were actually in war, and so incensed against one another, that the emperor Charles V. chose rather to suffer the taking of Belgrade, though the taking of it opened a passage into the hereditary dominions of his family, than make peace with the king of France, or draw any detachment from the armies he had in the field.

against that prince, to send to the king of Hungary his ally ; that after all, it was a sort of dishonour to the Ottoman house, considering the high pitch of grandeur to which it was arrived, to suffer any longer in the very heart of their empire, a republic of corsairs that roved over the seas at pleasure, disturbed the commerce of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and were daily fixing a price on the liberty of his subjects ; that Rhodes, and the other isles of the order, served for an asylum to fugitive slaves, malecontents and rebels ; and what was most to be considered, that they could not be ignorant, that in times of peace between the several princes of Christendom, the grand masters were always taking that opportunity of proposing the conquest of the kingdom of Jerusalem ; that in order to engage them to such an enterprise, which was what they had always most at heart, they had offered all the forces of their order, and that so long as the knights should be possessed of the port of Rhodes in the East, a port capable of receiving the Christian fleets, there would always be reason to fear some crusade from the princes of the West.

Solyman preferred this last opinion, as being most agreeable to that ambition which is inseparable from so vast a power : Pyrrhus, and the other bashas, though of a different sentiment, came over with great submission to that of their sovereign : a war against the knights, and the siege of Rhodes, were therefore resolved upon. The sultan named Mustapha basha, his favourite and brother-in-law, to be general of the land army, Curtogli to be great admiral, and Achmet basha, an able engineer, to have the direction of the works at the siege ; and appointed Pyrrus basha, his old governor, a man in

whom he entirely confided, to go along with Mustapha, as a counsellor to that young general, whose capacity and prudence might not perhaps be equal to his courage and valour. The sultan, after the distribution of these several employments, in order to find how the grand master stood affected, wrote to him by an ambassador, whom he sent on purpose to congratulate him, as it were, on his promotion to the dignity of grand master. He proposed to him the keeping of peace, and maintaining a good correspondence together; but he concluded his letter by telling him that he had taken Belgrade, as if he intended to intimidate him with the fear of meeting with the same fate as that unhappy city had undergone. As the stile of these kind of letters gives a better idea of the characters of princes, and the manners of the age they live in, than mere extracts, we have thought the reader would not be displeased to meet with that of Solymán; and the grand master's answer, in this place. Solymán's letter was wrote in Greek, and drawn up almost in these terms.\*

*“ Sultan Solymán, by the grace of God, king of kings, sovereign of sovereigns, most high emperor of Bizantium and Trebizond, most mighty king of Persia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt, supreme lord of Europe and Asia, prince of Mecca and Aleppo, possessor of Jerusalem, and lord of the universal sea, To Philip Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, grand Master of the Isle of Rhodes, greeting.*

*“ I congratulate thee on thy new dignity, and thy arrival in thy dominions: I wish that thou*

\* Bozio, t. 2. Lib. 18. p. 627.

mayst reign there happily, and with more glory than thy predecessors. It shall be in thy power to have a share in our good will. Enjoy then our friendship, and as our friend, be not the last to congratulate us on the conquests we have just made in Hungary, where we have reduced the important fortress of Belgrade, after having destroyed all that durst resist us with our dreadful sword. Adieu. From our camp the . . . . . and of the hegira the . . . . .”

This letter was read in full council; and they were surprised; that whilst Solyman was offering, as it were, peace with one hand; he should make an ostentation of his formidable power with the other, that his vessels should insult those of the order, or such as sailed under its banner. The grand-master did not neglect to answer that prince, but in terms, as the reader will observe; that might give him to understand they were equally disposed at Rhodes either to conclude a peace, or continue the war.

“ *F. Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, grand-master of Rhodes, to Solyman, Sultan of the Turks.*

“ I understand very well the meaning of thy letter, which thy ambassador has brought me: thy proposals of a peace between us are as agreeable to me as they will be displeasing to Curtogli. That corsair, at my passage from France, did all he could to surprise me, but not succeeding in his project, and unwilling to go out of these seas without doing us some damage, he entered the river of Lycia, and attempted to carry off two merchant ships belong-

ing to our ports. He had likewise attacked a bark belonging to some Candiots, but the galleys of the order, which I sent out of the port of Rhodes, forced him to let go his hold, and make off as fast as he could, for fear of falling into our power. Adieu... from Rhodes, the . . . ."

As the Turks were not very scrupulous with regard to the law of nations, the grand master did not think fit, without a pass, to send his letter by a knight, whom they might probably detain. They gave it to a Greek, a private man of the city of Rhodes. Solyman and his ministers found, by reading this letter, that they had to deal with a prince of a firm and intrepid character, who was not easily terrified. Pyrrhus basha, an old man, as great a politician as a soldier, proposed in the council, that they should write again to the grand master, and make a new overture of peace: that they should tell him they durst not present his letter to the grand seignior, by reason of the mean character of the bearer; but that if he would send one of his principal knights to the Porte, there was room to hope, that his negotiation might end in a solid peace. The design of this minister was, to draw one of the principal of the order to Constantinople, then to seize him, and force him by torture to give them an account of the state of the place, and the forces of the order; which might incline us to doubt the truth of the intelligence, which, it is pretended, d'Amaral held with the grand seignior, notwithstanding its being positively asserted by contemporary historians: not but that Solyman had similar advices from the Jewish physician. That perfidious wretch was continually urging him, by let-

ters, to hasten his armament ; but as traitors, in order to be the more attended to, usually lessen the difficulties of an enterprise which they themselves propose, the grand seignior and his council, perhaps from the fear of a double treachery, were very desirous, before they engaged in the siege, to know from some knight, whether the advices that they received from their spies were true, and whether there was no exaggeration in their relations.

The grand seignior entered into the views of his minister : and in order to endeavour, under the specious pretence of a negociation, to get a knight sent to Constantinople, he ordered them to send a new express to Rhodes, in Pyrrhus's name. That basha wrote to the grand master, to assure him that the sultan was very well disposed to treat of peace ; but that out of fear of affronting the majesty of so great a prince, they did not dare to present his letter to him, because of the mean character of his agent ; but that if he would send any lord of his council with another letter, and furnish him with full powers, he would readily introduce him to the Porte. He added, that the grand seignior, being surprised that he had no answer to his first letter, had given a second to the messenger, which he did not question but he would answer in a manner suitable to the majesty and formidable power of so great an emperor. The express, indeed, had a letter from Solyman to the grand master, wherein that prince, as we shall find, in order to oblige him to sue for peace, makes a great ostentation of his designs and forces.

“ We have been assured,” says he to him, “ that the letter which our highness wrote to thee, has been

delivered into thy hands, and that it gave thee more astonishment than pleasure. Be assured, that I shall not be satisfied with the conquest of Belgrade, but propose to myself another, of as great importance, in a little time, of which thou shalt soon have notice; thou and thy knights being scarcely ever out of my memory."

As this second letter had more the air of a challenge, or a declaration of war, than of a preliminary of peace, the grand master thought himself obliged to answer it in as lofty terms.

"I am not sorry," says he to him in his answer, "that thou rememberest me and the knights of my order: thou speakest to me of the conquest thou hast made in Hungary, and the design thou hast, as thou informest me, of undertaking another enterprise, which thou hopest will have the same success; but consider, that of all the projects that are formed by man, none are more uncertain than those that depend on the fortune of war. Adieu."

The grand master having thought himself obliged to answer the sultan's indirect menaces with so much resolution, wrote likewise to Pyrrhus, telling him, that if the sultan desired a peace with greater sincerity than appeared by his letters, it was only necessary to send him some hostages, or else a pass sealed with the great seal of the empire, and that as soon as it was come to hand, he would send one of the most considerable knights of the order to Constantinople, to hear what proposals they would make him. But a brigantine of the order, commanded by a serving brother, being taken by the



Turks near Rhodes, that act of hostility was taken for a declaration of war.

The grand master prepared for it with all the courage and precaution of an old captain, who had passed his whole life in war : he enlarged the ditch, and sunk it deeper ; he repaired the fortifications, and added several new ones to the place.

To deprive the Turks of forage, they cut down the corn, though it was not yet ripe : some country houses, as well as churches, situated without the town, were demolished, and the materials carried into the town, for fear the enemy should make use of their ruins to raise platforms, and plant artillery on them. From another precaution, in order to be well supplied with pioneers, they obliged all the peasants of the country to retire into the town, and recalled all the adventurers and privateers, that were cruising against the infidels under the banner of the order, whose protection they had, as well as free admittance and full security upon occasion, in the port of Rhodes.

But it was necessary to provide for the subsistence of these people, as well as for that of the knights, the citizens, and the garrison. This was the first care of the grand master : he appointed three commissioners for that purpose ; and, to give them the greater credit in the execution of their office, he chose them out of the grand crosses. The first was Gabriel de Pommerols, great commander and lieutenant-general to the grand master ; John Buck, turcopilier, of the language of England, was the second ; and chancellor d'Amaral was appointed the third. These three noblemen visited all the magazines carefully ; and though they found most of them full, yet the grand master, from an opinion

that what on such occasions is called sufficient does not always prove so, proposed to send immediately to Naples, Sicily and Candia, for a greater quantity of wheat, wine, powder and arms; and to endeavour likewise to get five hundred archers and bowmen from Candia; the Candiot, in all ages, excelling even the most warlike nations in the managing of those instruments. The chancellor, who had sold his religion to the infidels, in order to prevent the effects of the grand master's precautions, represented, that, by news just arrived from the Christian isles of the Archipelago, they were informed, that the Turkish armament was not so much designed against the isles of the order as against that of Cyprus, and perhaps Italy itself; that for near forty years, in which he had been in the order, he had frequently observed, that the Turks had occasioned it more expence by the jealousy that their armaments gave them, than if they had actually attacked Rhodes; that indeed the care and precautions that the grand master took could never be sufficiently applauded; but that they might defer the execution of them for some time longer, for fear of draining the treasury of the order, in making preparations to guard against a storm, that would probably fall on some other place,

The grand master, who was ignorant of the motives of this perfidious advice, imputed it only to an injudicious spirit of parsimony; but he declared, that he had letters from a faithful spy that he could depend on, whom he kept at Constantinople, and who assured him, that the grand seignior's armament was designed only for the siege of Rhodes; that he had given orders to let no ship go out of his ports that was bound towards Rhodes; that they

were labouring hard in preparing a train of large artillery, which is never used but in sieges; that the sultan had caused a great quantity of tools to be made, proper for pioneering, and that most of the troops were filing towards Lycia, where they were to embark, in order to be transported into the isle of Rhodes. The grand master added, that in an affair of such importance it was dangerous to give way to a too timorous policy, and that it was much better to hazard some expence, than see the island covered with enemies before they had provided for its defence.

The grand master's advice prevailed : they got wheat from Naples and Sicily, so that there was no want of any thing during the whole course of the siege but powder, which was caused by the treachery of the chancellor, who made a false report of the quantity in the magazines. They had like to have wanted wine through the same perfidiousness; the chancellor having, under pretence of thriftiness, rejected the proposals of three merchants of Rhodes, who offered to supply the city with it at a reasonable price. But the grand master, whose views extended on all sides, sent a serving brother, Anthony Bosio, into Candia, uncle to the author of the annals of the order, with orders to provide great store of wine, and to procure leave from the governor of the island to levy five hundred foot. Bosio, arriving in Candia, had no difficulty in getting the wine, which he shipped off in fifteen brigantines; he had even the address to engage a young Venetian gentleman, whose name was Bonaldi, and who had, at that time, in the port, a ship freighted with wine, bound to Constantinople, to alter his course and carry it to Rhodes.

But the serving brother did not find it so easy a matter to levy soldiers. The governor not only refused him leave, but, as if he dreaded Solyman's resentment, forbid, by sound of trumpet, all persons whatsoever, under pain of corporal punishment, to enlist with the grand master's agent, or quit the island. Notwithstanding this, the dexterous Rhodian made a shift to get his recruit, and above five hundred men, disguised like merchants and seamen, got on board the brigantines, either unknown to the governor, or without his being willing to take notice of it. This crafty negociator performed another piece of service to the order before he set sail. In the isle of Candia there was an excellent engineer, Gabriel Martinengo, a gentleman of Brescia, a subject of the republic, and of an ancient and illustrious family: the senate had given him a pension of twelve hundred crowns, to superintend the fortifications of that island. Bosio, who foresaw how useful a man of his abilities would be in a place that was besieged, proposed to him to go to Rhodes, and to share with the knights in the glory which they hoped to acquire in the defence of it. Martinengo, a man of true valour, a brave soldier and a great engineer, cheerfully accepted the invitation, provided he could procure his discharge from the governor.

Bosio sailed for Rhodes with his soldiers and the supply of wine; and on his arrival, he gave the grand master an account of his voyage, and of the negociation he had entered into with Martinengo. The grand master immediately saw the advantage that a man of his abilities would be to them in the present juncture: he sent Bosio immediately back to Candia, with a letter to the governor, wherein

he intreated him, in the most pressing terms, to give that officer leave to come and defend a place, which served for a bulwark to the very isles of the republic. But the governor flatly refused to grant it, and gave Martinengo express orders not to stir out of the island. That officer, however, regardless of the consequences, disguised himself, and, in concert with Bosio, got on board a felucca, that waited for him in a creek of the island.

The governor, having notice that the engineer had disappeared, caused a strict search to be made after him; he also confiscated his effects, and not questioning but he was embarked in some passage-ship, he sent two galleys in pursuit of him, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Martinengo and Bosio, seeing themselves pursued, took down the mast of the felucca, drew their oars into their vessel, brought it close under a rock of the island, covering it with sails made of whitish linen, almost of the same colour as the rock that the felucca lay under. By this artifice, and perhaps by the secret orders of the governor, they escaped the galleys, which returning into the port, they set sail, passed in the night through some Turkish vessels, which, by means of Bosio's speaking the Greek language, took the brigantine to belong to their own squadron, and arrived safe at Rhodes. Martinengo was extremely well received by the grand master, who knew his birth and his talents. The principal commanders, following his example, showed him the utmost respect: every one was striving to show him how sensible they were of his merit. Martinengo also was delighted to see himself esteemed by that noble body of knights, the best judges of valour, and which was composed of the most illustrious per-

sons in all the states of Christendom. From these sentiments, that savoured perhaps too much of human nature, he passed to those of a particular veneration, when he saw these knights and warriors preparing themselves, like Christians and true religious, for the defence of religion. Under a soldier's habit, and with a military equipage, he admired their contempt of the world, their lively faith, and sincere disengagement from the things of this life: he was particularly edified to see most of them preparing themselves for a bloody siege, by a frequent receiving of the sacraments.

These reflections gave rise to his vocation: he saw himself exposed to the same dangers, without the same holy preparation: God touched his heart; he ran to the grand master's palace, threw himself at his feet, and, inflamed with zeal to sacrifice his life for the defence of the faith, entreated that prince to honour him with his cross. The grand master took him up and embraced him tenderly, assuring him, that he would go immediately and propose his request to the council, and acquaint them with his pious dispositions. The votes were unanimous in his favour: the whole order was delighted to associate so excellent a man in it; the grand master gave him the habit, and administered the vows to him in a full assembly; and to acknowledge the generosity wherewith he had abandoned his patrimony, and the great pensions he had from the republic of Venice, the order assigned him a pension of 1200 crowns, till such time as he might have some commandry or priory of the like value given him. As a farther favour to the new knight, the grand master made him the next day a grand cross, and gave him at the same time the general

inspection over all the fortifications: and the grand marshal, who is standing general of all the troops of the order, divided as it were his authority with him: he admitted him, out of the high regard he had to his great capacity, into the command and authority which his post gave him over all the forces of the island.

It was by the advice and directions of Martinego, that they repaired the walls and towers; he caused them to raise the ramparts higher: they built ravelins before the gates of the city; made casements in the flanks of the bastions, and in the counterescarp of the ditch, mines filled with powder, to which they might set fire by the help of a train laid under ground: within the place, he caused them to build new forts, cuts, ditches, intrenchments, barricades, and all kinds of necessary defences that a person of his capacity, and who foresaw every thing that might happen, could oppose against the attacks of the besiegers.

Whilst the order was receiving such advantages from his skill and his great talents, particularly at a time when they were going to be besieged, there happened a kind of desertion among the knights of the language of Italy. The principal of that nation complained to the grand master and the council, that pope Adrian VI., who had just succeeded Leo X. disposed in an absolute manner, and contrary to their rights, of all the commandries of Italy, and thereupon asked leave to go to Rome to complain of it. The grand master did not think fit in the present juncture to grant them the leave that they desired: his refusal exasperated them; and d'Amaral, who lost no opportunity of weakening the order, insinuated to them, that they themselves

bought to take a permission which he denied them; that l'Isle-Adam, who was a Frenchman by birth, did not love the language of Italy; that, in order to keep them low, he was not perhaps concerned at the pope's taking from them the commandries annexed to their language; that the grand master spread and encouraged the reports of an approaching siege, with the view only of having a pretence to dispose the more freely of the funds that were in the treasury of the order; and that it would be a dishonour to them, if after shedding their blood so often in the defence of the order, they should, by an odious distinction, be the only persons deprived of the recompense so justly due to their services.

The Italian knights, seduced by this perfidious advice, left Rhodes without leave, and retired into the isle of Candia. The grand master, justly provoked at so scandalous a disobedience, ordered them to be prosecuted as rebels and deserters; and the council deprived them of the habit by an express sentence to this purpose: however just this sentence might be, the order nevertheless lost in them a considerable number of valiant knights. Some of their friends, better affected than the chancellor, went over to Candia with the grand master's private consent; and after having dexterously entered into their complaints and resentments, they represented to them, that there was no longer any doubt to be made of the siege of Rhodes; that they would see the island immediately covered with the Turks, and that though the motive of their journey to Rome was most just, they yet could not prevent their enemies spreading a report that they had made it at such a juncture, with a view only of



getting out of the way of those dangers to which their brethren were going to be exposed.

The certainty of the siege of Rhodes, and the fear they were under of being suspected to have withdrawn themselves from so cowardly a motive, prevailed over their resentment. They returned to Rhodes to throw themselves at the grand master's feet; and that they might obtain pardon for their fault, they protested that they would wash it out with their blood, and with that of the infidels. The grand master received them like a tender father; and after having given them a wise reproof for their disobedience, the generous old man embraced them with great tenderness, gave them the habit again, and promised them, that as soon as they should be free from the war, with which they were threatened, the whole order should interest itself in their affair; that he would make it his own, and that as their complaints were just and reasonable, he was in hopes, that the several princes of Christendom would not refuse him their good offices with the pope.

This storm being happily calmed, the grand master immediately dispatched knights to all the courts of Europe, who were to solicit the pope and the other princes of Christendom to send him speedy succours; but the event showed that the order could depend on nothing but its own strength. Most of the princes, engaged in war with one another, and minding only their private interests, neglected those of religion, and the pope himself, though a virtuous pontiff, yet as he owed his dignity to the credit and recommendation of the emperor Charles V., whose preceptor he had been, he durst not dispose of the troops and money of the holy see without his privity and consent.

Brother James de Bourbon, commander of Oisemont, and natural son to Lewis de Bourbon, elected bishop of Liege, a prince of the house of France, tells us, in his relation of the siege of Rhodes, that upon the request made in the grand master's name by the chevalier d'Ansoyville to the king of France, this religious prince, who had a great affection for the order, gave him a power to fit out all the vessels that he should find in the ports of Provence, and carry them to Rhodes. But the commanders in that province, fearing to be attacked by the emperor, delayed executing his orders: so that he was forced to go back to court to solicit for new ones that might be more particular: and these voyages took up so much time, that winter came on, and the proper season for putting to sea was over.

It was probably from the same misfortune that a strong carrack, which the chevalier Hyserant, of the language of Auvergne, had fitted out at Genoa, and freighted with ammunition and provisions, ran aground near Monega: though they suspected at the time that the winds and the sea had not so much contributed to that accident as the policy of the Genoese, who were afraid of incurring the resentment of the Turks. Nor is it less difficult to discover the motive of the inactivity of Fabricio Pignatelli, prior of Barletta, of Charles Quesvalle, of Lully de St. Stephen, and John Baptist Caraffa, bailiff of Naples, who having, by the grand master's directions, purchased with the order's money a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, never sent any of it to the succour of Rhodes.

The grand master being in no certainty of these remote succours, placed all his confidence in the protection of heaven and in the valour of his knights.

Like a warrior and a great captain, he neglected no precaution necessary to prevent being surprised by the infidels. One of the first of his many cares, so worthy of his zeal and courage, was a general review of all the knights and regular troops, which amounted in all to about six hundred knights, and four thousand five hundred soldiers; and, with this handful of men, he undertook to defend the place against the inundations of those formidable armies that Solyman brought into the field in all his enterprises. The townsmen of Rhodes indeed took up arms, and some companies were formed out of them: they also recalled the Rhodian privateers that were out at sea; these were posted in the town, and were charged with the defence of the port. The peasants were designed to serve as pioneers; but they could not afterwards make any use of the common people of the town, who were insensible to any passion but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face. The grand master gave brother Didier Tholon of St. Jaille, bailiff of Manosque, the direction of the artillery, and the chevaliers de Nuères and Britto were entrusted with the carrying on of the works under the orders of the bailiff de Martinengo. The slaves of Rhodes, and such as belonged to private persons, were employed in hollowing the ditches, and in the fortifications which they added to the bastion of Auvergne; they repaired the mills; they built new ovens; the port was shut up with a double chain, one before its mouth, the other within it, from the tower of St. Nicholas to the tower of the mills; and to prevent the infidels from seizing on the mole, and advancing by means of that bank as far as the gate of St. Catharine, as they had attempted in the former siege, they

sunk at the entrance of the bay, where the tunny fishery was, several ships loaded with stones; the walls were, at the same time, lined with artillery; they carried arms, grenades, fire-pots, and large stones upon the ramparts and bastions: there never had been seen greater diligence or more complete order.

The knights and Greek gentlemen, the townsmen as well as officers, the soldiers and mariners, the very priests and monks, employed themselves readily and without confusion in whatever was prescribed them. The grand master was present in all places; he alone inspected the carrying on of these several works; his presence and capacity advanced them still more than the many hands employed about them; and few princes and governors ever gave such manifest proofs, in a besieged place, of so perfect an understanding of the art of war, joined to a calm valour, incapable of being discomposed either by the greatness or the variety of the dangers with which he was afterwards surrounded.

But for the better understanding of the importance and usefulness of the precautions which he took, though we have in the former book taken some notice of the situation of the place, it may, nevertheless, be proper to give a fuller account of it, and take notice likewise of the additional fortifications that had been made since the last siege.

The city of Rhodes, as we have already observed, is situated by the sea-side, on a hill which terminates with a gentle descent into a plain, thereby making the circumvallation of it easy. It is divided into the high and low town; the grand master's palace was in the high town, and served as a castle and a citadel to it at the same time. All the knights were

lodged near the grand master's palace in the same quarter; and all the secular and married persons, as well townsmen as artificers, dwelt in the lower town. The place on the side towards the country seems to be of a round figure, but when seen from the sea, represents a perfect crescent. There are two ports belonging to it; the largest is square and spacious, but not very safe when certain winds blow. At the entrance of this port, on the right, stands the tower of St. Nicholas, a monument of the liberality of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. This tower, well provided with artillery, was joined to a bastion that lay behind it, and had a curtain which ran up to the walls of the town, and made one of the sides of the port. On the other side, opposite this tower, stood an old castle, to which the knights gave the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. This castle and the tower, which were somewhat more than a hundred yards distant from one another, were built upon the two rocks, upon which it is pretended that the feet of the great brazen colossus stood in former times, and which was of so prodigious a bulk, that the greatest vessels, as we are told, might pass with all their sails spread between its legs. The bastion adjoining to the tower of St. Nicholas, by the sea-side, was provided with nine great pieces of cannon, which commanded the entry of the port so entirely, that no ship could enter on any side. The Little Port, or Port of the Galleys, was covered towards the sea with a narrow neck of rock, that ran out from the main land, and had a castle upon it, called by the knights the Castle of St. Elme or St. Erme. This port is more secure than large, and may hold several galleys; but the mouth of it is so narrow, that there cannot above one enter at a

time. They shut it up every evening with a chain, that was fastened to a little tower at the farther end of a mole, which runs about twenty-five or thirty paces out into the sea; the other end of the chain was fastened to a piece of rock, that jutted out from the land seven or eight paces from the castle. Near the Port of the Galleys stood the arsenal, where they used to be built; and opposite the bastion, which is between the two ports, there was a large tower with a ditch, and three great pieces of cannon, which defended the entrance of this last port. Above the prince's palace, and the inns of the languages, were a great number of churches, among which that of St. John, the patron of the order, was remarkable for the greatness of the edifice, and the height and fine workmanship of its steeple. All these noble buildings, together with the fortifications, both ancient and modern, made Rhodes one of the finest cities of the East. It was surrounded by a double, others say with a triple enclosure of walls, fortified with thirteen large towers, built after the antique fashion, five of which lay within a sort of ravelin and bastion, which the historians of the time call bulwarks: these bulwarks were covered by barbicans or *fausse-brayes*, and other advanced works. The ditch was large and deep, the counterscarp well faced and palisaded: all that lay open in the parts adjacent to the place was exposed to an infinite number of batteries, composed of cannon of different bores, according to the distance of the places in view. Rhodes seemed to defy an attack on all sides; and from the glacis to the body of the place, there was nothing but fortifications, and batteries that suffered no approaches to be made without danger and loss of men.

We have said, on the credit of the historians of that age, that there were five bulwarks or bastions. The grand master committed the defence of them to five old knights, that had given signal proofs of their capacity and courage on many occasions. The chevalier de Mesnil had the care of defending the bastion of Auvergne; brother Francis de Carrieres was posted in that of Spain; Nicholas Hussey was to command in that of England; Berenger de Lioncel in that of Provence; and Andelot Gentili undertook to defend the bastion of Italy. The grand master distributed, at the same time, the best part of his troops upon the ramparts, and divided them according to their quarters. Brother Raimond de Ricard, the oldest commander of the language of Provence, was at the head of a brigade, to take care of a post that bore the same name. Raimond Roger, of the language of Auvergne, was chosen for the quarter of his language; Joachim de St. Aubin, with the French knights, was to defend the wall from the Franque tower, as far as the gate of St. Ambrose, and from that gate as far as that of St. George; the Germans were posted under the conduct of the commander Valdners; William Ouazon commanded in the quarter of the English; George Emar in that of Italy; John de Barbarar and Ernard Sollier were to defend the posts of Castile and Arragon, where the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough. The quarter called St. Mary de la Victoire was still weaker: the grand master undertook the defence of it himself, quitted his palace, and lodged at the foot of the wall with some knights that he had reserved to fight under his own command; and near his person.

Besides this distribution, the grand master chose

likewise four lords, all of them grand crosses, to whom they gave the title of *adjutant-captains* or *generals*, who, with the companies under their command, were a sort of corps de reserve, and were to march to such places as were most pressed. The first of these captains was d'Amaral, whose fidelity they did not as yet suspect. His business was to sustain those that defended the posts of Auvergne and Germany; brother John Buck, turcopilier of the order, and a knight of the language of England, was appointed for the quarter of Spain and England; brother Peter de Cluys, grand prior of France, was to sustain those of his own nation, and the posts of Castile and Portugal; and brother Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, was assigned to march to the succour of the posts of Provence and Italy. The grand master added to these four lords, brother Gabriel de Pommerois, his lieutenant-general, who, without having any settled post or quarter, was to go to all places where there should be need; and the grand master, at the head of his guards, commanded by the chevalier de Bonneval, of the language of Auvergne, reserved the same function to himself.

We have already observed, that, before the first siege, they carried into the city a statue of the holy Virgin, which was revered in a church dedicated to her, and built upon Mont-Philerme. They took the same precaution before this second siege, and all the clergy and people went in procession to the church to take it, and brought it into the city, whereof she was considered as the protectress, and deposited it in the church of St. Mark.

The tower of St. Nicholas being deemed the most



important post, and the key of Rhodes, the grand master entrusted the defence of it to brother Guyot de Castelane, of the language of Provence, an old knight, who had distinguished himself by a great number of brave actions. Twenty knights, and three hundred foot, entered into the fortress, under his command; they gave six hundred men to the knights Claude de St. Prix and John Boniface, both Frenchmen, and to Lopez d'Aiala and Hugh Capon, Spaniards, to patrol round the city night and day in their turn, and to maintain good order in it, with power to judge and condemn malefactors to death, reserving, however, a liberty of appeal to the grand master. This prince, fearing that the four grand crosses, whom he had chose for adjutant-captains, would not, during the course of the siege, be sufficient to carry relief to all the places that should be attacked, added four others to them, viz. Anastasius de St. Camelle, Guyot Dazas, French knights, Martin Fursan and Raimond Marquet, Spaniards, and gave each of them a company of one hundred and fifty men. The grand marshal, according to the rights of his office, gave the great standard of the order to Anthony de Grolee, of the province of Dauphiné, a knight of distinguished valour, and well worthy of so honorable a trust. The chevalier - de Tintéville, a relation of the grand master's, was appointed to carry the standard of the holy crucifix, and the chevalier Henry de Mauselle, one of the officers of the grand master's household, carried his particular standard.

Whilst the grand master was employed in assigning the knights their several employments, and the quarters which they were to defend, they saw that the Turks were in the night making signals of

fire upon that part of the coast of Lycia, that lies opposite to the isle of Rhodes.

The grand master, that he might not neglect any thing, ordered a French knight, whose name was Mennetou, to take his pink, and go with a Rhodian, named Jaxi, who spoke the Turkish language, to ascertain the cause of these fires. The French knight, pursuant to his orders, put to sea, and, coming pretty near the coast, he perceived several Turkish soldiers, disguised like merchants, standing by the side of a fountain. Jaxi asked them the reason of their signals, and at the same time enquired for a Turkish merchant of his acquaintance, who had formerly traded at Rhodes. They answered him, that that merchant was not far off; that he was coming thither, and that he might see him if he would come ashore. The Rhodian excused himself, unless they would send a hostage to his commander: the Turks agreed to it; the exchange was made; but, as soon as Jaxi was ashore, these perfidious wretches, contrary to the law of nations, bound him, hurried him away to Constantinople, and delivered him to Pyrrhus basha, the author and director of this act of treachery. Mennetou thought to take his revenge on the Turkish hostage; but, on his return to Rhodes, they found that he was only a sorry peasant, whom they had dressed in a silk vest, and from whom the grand master and council could get no information.

In the meantime Pyrrhus, having the Rhodian in his power, endeavoured to get an account from him of the state of the city of Rhodes; and not being able to gain upon him by civilities and hopes of great reward, he put him to such violent torture for several days together, that the Greek, no longer

sole to bear it, answered to the interrogatories that were put to him, and died soon after. Pyrrhus acquainted the grand seignior with the Rhodian's deposition, and assured his master, that there were not above five or six thousand men in arms at Rhodes. Solyman resolved immediately to begin the siege; but as it was a rule with him never to begin any war without a previous declaration of it, he sent one by an express, who went into Lycia; and, according to custom, made the usual signals by fires, as had been done by those who carried off Jaxi.

The grand master, who did not know of his death, immediately thought that the Turks had sent him back, and thereupon sent a galley, commanded by a knight, Boniface d'Aluys, to receive him. When he arrived near the coast, he saw some Turks on horseback, who, without making mention of Jaxi, told him they were come with letters from the grand seignior to the grand master, and that if they would wait a little they would fetch them; inviting at the same time, the trucheman, or interpreter of the galley, to come ashore and receive them. But the chevalier d'Aluys, fearful of another trick like to that which was played the chevalier de Menne-tou, would not suffer him to leave the vessel. Being likewise apprehensive of another ambuscade, and of there being some vessels in readiness to surprise and seize his vessel, he told them, that he would set sail that very moment, and that if they had any letters to send to the grand master, they might deliver them to him. The Turks, seeing him ready to sail, tied the packet of letters to a stone, and threw it on ship-board. He carried the packet to the grand master: it was opened in full council: they found in it a letter of Solyman, in the form of a de-

claration of war, directed to the grand master, to the knights, and to the citizens and inhabitants of Rhodes. This letter of defiance was drawn up nearly in these terms.

“ The continual robberies with which you infest our faithful subjects, and the insults you offer to our imperial majesty, oblige us to require you to deliver up to us immediately the island and fortress of Rhodes. If you do it readily, we swear, by the God who made heaven and earth, by the six-and-twenty thousand prophets, and the four musaphi that fell from heaven, and by our great prophet Mahomet, that you shall have free liberty to go out of the island, and the inhabitants to stay there, without the least injury being done to you: but if you do not immediately submit to our orders, you shall be 'all cut to pieces with our terrible sword, and the towers, bastions and walls of Rhodes, shall be laid level with the grass that grows at the foot of all those fortifications.”

This letter was no great surprise to the council; and they resolved, that if the grand seignior should attack the island, to answer him only with their cannon. But before the enemy appeared, and that they were obliged to enter upon action, the grand master ordered them to prepare themselves for it by fasting and prayer: he himself first set them the example of it, and the moments which he could spare from the toils of government, he spent in devotion before the altar. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and eye-witness of what passed at the siege, in the relation which he has left us of it, observes, that the knights and citizens of Rhodes had

as much confidence in his prayers as in his valour ; and it was a common saying among them, that, under so pious a prince, heaven would interpose for the preservation of his dominions.

As the isle of Rhodes was inhabited by two different nations, each of them had their own metropolitan, both in the nomination of the grand master. Leonard Balestein then enjoyed that dignity with regard to the Latins, and a caloyer or monk of St. Basil, called Clement, was archbishop of the Greeks. These two prelates lived in perfect harmony, and made it their whole business to maintain peace between their diocesans. The Latin archbishop was a very fine speaker : he was one of the most eloquent preachers of his age. However, as the Turks always treated their Greek subjects more favourably than the Latins, the grand master was not without apprehensions, that the Greek inhabitants of the isles of the order might possibly be seduced by this distinction in their favour, and therefore engaged the two metropolitans, in their sermons, to exhort their diocesans to fight courageously against the enemies of the faith. Both the prelates acquitted themselves in this point with zeal, and succeeded in it without difficulty. The fidelity of the Rhodians to the order was not to be shaken : not only from the inviolable attachment which they discovered for the true religion, but likewise because the knights had always governed with great justice and moderation ; the surest bond in nature between a sovereign and his subjects.

In the meantime the Turkish fleet set sail ; thirty galleys advanced before it. The commander, as he passed along the coasts of the isle of Lango, or Coos, landed some troops to ravage it : but these plun-

derers were so vigorously charged, upon their landing, by Prejan de Bidoux, great prior of St. Giles, governor of the island, that they were forced to re-embark with some loss. This commander being informed by the prisoners, that those galleys, and the main body of the fleet which followed them, were steering directly for Rhodes, sent to ask the grand master leave to come to him, and serve the order in the siege. The grand master, who knew his capacity and long experience in war, was equally affected with his zeal and courage. He readily sent him the orders that he asked, and the brave knight, upon the receipt of them, went on board a brigantine, and in the night got into the port of Rhodes, without being discovered by the Turks. The grand master embraced him tenderly, commended him highly, and not to leave his talents, particularly his vigilance, unemployed, he gave him the commission of visiting the several posts of the place, and of commanding at all the batteries jointly with the bailiff of Manosque.

They likewise brought over from the other isles of the order, and particularly from Nizarro, the greatest part of its inhabitants; a set of brave men, accustomed to cruise at sea, and combat against the infidels. The grand master took this resolution, because the only thing they had to do in this war was to save the capital; and if the order could but maintain its ground there, the other islands would be either preserved, or at least be easily recovered.

When these inhabitants were landed, they put them into the castles of Lindo, Feracle, and the other fortresses of the island: some gallant knights were likewise put into those places to command them: their orders were, that, if they should be

besieged, they should hold out as long as possible, to gain time, and put off the siege of the capital; and if the infidels did not attack them, to go often out on parties, and try to surprise the stragglers from the main army.

The Turkish fleet, after making the coast of Lycia, appeared at last within sight of Rhodes, and stopped in shallow water about eight miles or three leagues from thence: but not finding a good bottom, and the place being likewise exposed, at that season, to the westerly winds, Curtogli weighed anchor, and went to land on the other side, on a lee-shore, where there was good anchorage, at a place called Parambolin, six miles from the city. There afterwards came thither, from the ports of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, a great number of vessels, laden with troops and ammunition: so that when the Turks had collected all their forces, they computed no less than four hundred sail in their fleet; and the land army consisted of a hundred and forty thousand men, without reckoning sixty thousand pioneers, which Solyman had drawn out of the frontiers of Hungary, and the mountains of Servia, Bosnia and Wallachia, where most of them had been bred to digging under ground, and working in mines.

The grand master, on the approach of the enemy, quitted his palace, and posted himself near the church of St. Marie de la Victoire, to be the more within reach of succouring the posts that should be attacked. During the first thirteen days the infidels were continually employed in transporting their troops from the ports of Fische and Macry into the isle of Rhodes, and in landing the heavy artillery, provisions and ammunition. When all was landed,

they held a council of war about the different operations of the army. Some officers were of opinion, that they should begin with attacking the castle of Lindo, and the other fortresses of the island, which the knights had built to hinder the making of descents; and they represented, that the troops which were in those places might surprise and intercept their convoys, and cut to pieces any parties that might straggle abroad for forage; but Peri or Pyrrhus basha, the son of a renegado Epirot, was against this sentiment, and represented, that they should lose no time, which was too precious to be thrown away, in reducing these little places; that they ought to advance directly to the capital, the taking of which would make all those castles fall of course; and, with regard to the parties which might disturb their convoys and foragers, they might easily secure themselves from any apprehensions of that nature, by sending such strong escorts, that the Christians durst not attack them.

The general declared himself for this latter opinion: Rhodes was invested; they began to open the trenches out of the reach of cannon-shot, and when they were nearer the town, the infidels raised a battery, which was immediately dismounted by the artillery of the place. Nothing could appear in the plain but it was immediately battered, and felt the fury of the cannon; and the knights making frequent sallies, killed a great number of the enemy, cleared the trenches, and filled up their first works. The Turks began them again, and raised new batteries; but notwithstanding their being covered with sheds, gabions and shoulder-works, the knights, with their continual fire, ruined all their works, and destroyed such as managed the artillery of the in-



fidels. The sword made great havoc of what the cannon spared: every day there was some skirmish or other, and no sallies were made, but all the Turks in the trenches were cut to pieces.

The Turkish soldiers, who were used to make prognostics from the first skirmishes, presaged no good to themselves with regard to the success of the siege: the janizaries, and even their very officers, found the valour of the knights so much superior to the great character that had been given them of it, that they complained of being led to the slaughter. Besides, from the prudent precautions of the grand master, the island was a kind of desert; no inhabitants, no provisions nor forage, neither could the soldiers straggle abroad in quest of any, but they were presently surprised by parties that sallied out of the castles of the island; and these parties, who were always lying in one ambuscade or other, killed all that fell into their hands. A war so toilsome and bloody, the extraordinary fortifications of Rhodes, the continual fire of the artillery, the frequent sallies, the scarcity of provisions, which they were forced to be very careful of, because they could get none but from beyond sea, the little, or rather no hopes of booty, and yet less of recompence, in the absence of their sovereign, their small confidence in a young general that had been brought up in the pleasures of the seraglio, all this contributed to the distaste, and even the murmurings of the officers as well as the soldiers. A spirit of mutiny, under a general that had not credit enough with them, soon succeeded to these murmurs; and if an attack was to be made, or a sally to be repulsed, the troops could not be brought to advance but with reluctance, and like men that did not be-

lieve they could vanquish, or help being vanquished. In fine, the fear of danger made obedience languish, and all respect for command was lost.

Peri basha, to whom Solyman had given particular orders to send him an exact account of every thing that passed at the siege, thought himself obliged to let him know the discouragement and despondency of his army: and he observed in his letter, that nothing but his presence could root out the seeds of rebellion, and reanimate the courage of his soldiers. The bashas that were left about the sultan, and composed his council, were against his committing himself to the hazards of the sea; but the prince, jealous of his glory, and having the example of his father Selim, and the sultans his ancestors before his eyes: and being likewise persuaded, that the single presence of a sovereign surmounts the greatest difficulties, resolved to put himself at the head of his army, and accordingly set out for Lycia with a body of 15000 men.

Whilst this prince was on his march, a Turkish woman, who was slave to a townsman of Rhodes, either from a zeal for her false religion, or in hopes of receiving her liberty, formed alone an enterprise that a hundred thousand Turks could not bring about. As the knights and the infidels were fighting every day, she, in order to make a diversion that might facilitate the attacks of the Turks, resolved to set fire to the principal places of the city; but as it was impossible for her to execute this project alone, she communicated it to some other slaves of her own country and religion. These, influenced by the same motives, and by her persuasion, entered into the plot. The woman found a way to give the Turkish generals notice of her design; and, in con-

cert with them, she fixed the conspirators a day for this conflagration, and the quarter wherein they were to light it. These measures were so well taken, that Rhodes must have fallen by the enterprise of this woman, had not one of the slaves accidentally dropped a word that discovered the secret of the conspiracy. They were immediately seized, and all of them, when put to the rack, owned their plot; the woman was the only person that did not submit to the force of pain, but endured the most violent tortures, without making the least confession. But her accomplices being confronted with her, and maintaining that she was the only person that engaged them in this conspiracy, the judges ordered her to be hanged. They quartered all the other conspirators, and their limbs were fixed up in several places of the city, in order to intimidate the rest of the slaves, and all that might afterwards be tempted to form a like enterprise.

The sultan in the meantime passing through Caria and Lycia, arrived at Portofischo. His vessels came thither to take him on board with the troops that served for his escort; and he came into the isle of Rhodes to his camp, where he was received with the salvos of artillery, and the sound of drums, trumpets and other warlike instruments. His presence put a stop to the murmurs of the soldiery, and made them dread a chastisement. He declared that the only design of his coming was to punish a rebellious army, and decimate or put to death, every tenth soldier, calling them cowards at the same time: but Peri basha, who had a great influence over him, represented to him that the janizaries, and even the bravest of that body of troops, were the very men that appeared most mutinous; that he

could not punish them without discouraging the rest, and that therefore, in a siege of such difficulty and importance, it were better to overlook their fault, or else to make them sensible of it by such reproaches as should inspire them with their wonted bravery.

This prince, after having concerted with his minister what behaviour he should put on with regard to his troops, ordered them to appear before him without their arms, and caused them to be surrounded by the 15000 men that he had brought with him to the siege. They had erected a high and magnificent throne for him. The prince, armed with majesty, ascended it with a fierce and stately air, and sat there for some time without once opening his lips, casting dreadful looks on every side, which the trembling soldier considered as the fore-runners of death. At last, breaking this dismal silence, "Was I," says he, "to have addressed myself to soldiers, I would have allowed you to appear before me with your arms; but since I am forced to direct my discourse to wretched slaves, weaker and more faint-hearted than women, and who cannot stand the bare shout of their enemies, it is not fitting that cowards should dishonour our arms, and the characteristics of valour. I would gladly know, if, whether upon landing in this island, you flattered yourselves that the knights would prove greater cowards than yourselves, and in a dread of your arms should bring you their own, and come in a servile manner to offer their hands and feet to the irons with which you should be pleased to load them. In order to undeceive and cure you of such a ridiculous mistake, know, that in the person of these knights, we are to fight with the flower of the

Christian world, with brave men, trained up from their infancy in the profession of arms; we are to fight with cruel and fierce lions, greedy of the blood of Mussulmen, and who will not quit their haunt but to a superior force. It is their courage which has excited our own. I imagined that in attacking them I should meet with an enterprise and dangers that were worthy of my valour. And is it from you, base and effeminate soldiers, that I am to expect a conquest; you that are flying from the enemy before you have looked him in the face, and would have deserted, had it not been for the sea that encompasses you? but before such a disgrace shall happen to me, I am resolved to exercise such exemplary justice on the cowards, that the severity of their punishment shall keep such in their duty as might be tempted to imitate them."

Scarce had the sultan ended these words, when, upon a signal given to the armed soldiers that surrounded the others, they drew their swords, as if they were going to massacre their comrades. Those wretches, at the sight of the drawn swords, whose points were turned against them, fell upon their knees, and cried aloud to the sultan for mercy. Then Peri, and the other generals, in concert with the prince, drew near his throne with the most profound reverence, and besought him, in the most submissive expressions, to pardon those soldiers, who, as Peri said, had behaved manfully on other occasions, but who in this had been unhappily misled by an evil genius and a panic terror. The basha added, that they were ready to wash out their faults with their blood, and his head should answer to his highness for their hearty sorrow and repentance. Though Solyman's design was only to reclaim his troops, and

bring them back to their duty, yet in order to maintain before them the character of an incensed prince, and engage the soldiers to blot out the remembrance of their cowardice by some daring action of extraordinary valour. "I suspend," says he to Peri, "at your request, the punishment of the guilty: but let them go seek their pardon in the bastions and upon the bulwarks of our enemies." With these words he dismissed the assembly.

This discourse, so seasonably mixed with severity and clemency, inspired the troops with their wonted boldness and ancient valour. The officers especially, to wipe off the ill opinion that the sultan had entertained of their courage, eagerly demanded to be placed in the most dangerous posts. The very persons, who, before Solyman's arrival, had blamed this enterprise, found it then easy and glorious; one would not have taken them for the same men: they were all on fire to signalize their courage, and it may be safely said, that it is only from this day we are to date the commencement of the siege.

The soldiers and pioneers carried on the trenches without intermission. They worked at them in the day as well as in the night, and they were frequently relieved by various detachments of troops, that succeeded one another. The grand master, seeing them sustained by strong brigades, did not think fit to continue his sallies, in which the loss of one knight was of greater consequence to him than fifty soldiers to Solyman; so that the infidels, having nothing to fear but the fire of the place, laboured with so much vigour, that they carried on their works as far as the counterscarp: and in order to make their lines the stronger, they faced them on the outside with beams of timber and planks tied together. They

next augmented their batteries; from which, for several days together, they fired incessantly upon the city. The Turks flattered themselves, that they should speedily destroy the fortifications, but had notice sent them by the Jew, who served them as a spy in Rhodes, that their cannon had scarce so much as grazed the battlements of the wall, whether their batteries were ill placed, or their cannon not well pointed. He added, that the knights, from the top of the steeple of St. John, saw every thing that passed in their camp, and the parts adjacent; and that if the Christians should happen to plant some piece of artillery on the top of that steeple, they might either kill the sultan as he was visiting the works, or such as carried his orders. These advices determined the besiegers to change the situation of their batteries: they pointed one, among the rest, against St. John's steeple, which was demolished by the first cannon shot that they fired.

These barbarians, finding Rhodes covered, and buried as it were, under fortifications, resolved to raise two cavaliers, that should be higher than those works, and command the city and bulwarks. The soldiers and pioneers, by the general's orders, brought earth and stones, for several days together, which they placed between the posts of Spain and Auvergne, over against the bastion of Italy. As these two places lay exposed to the cannon of the fortress, it would be impossible to express what a prodigious number of Turkish soldiers and pioneers perished in this work: but Mustapha, in order to advance it, made no scruple of throwing away the lives of those poor wretches: the work at last appeared like two little hills, which were ten or twelve feet higher than the wall, and fully commanded it.

The general and the other bashas then made a distribution of the several attacks. Mustapha took upon himself that of the bulwark of England; Peri that of the post of Italy; Achmet basha, a great engineer, undertook the attack of the bastions of Spain and Auvergne; but as they seemed to be defended by a numerous artillery, and a great number of knights, the sultan would have this last basha sustained by the aga of the janizaries. The begler-bei of Anatolia commanded in the trenches opposite to the post of Provence, and the begler-bei of Romania was to attack the tower of St. Nicholas; all these generals caused a continual fire to be made.

The post of Germany was the first attacked; the Turks planted several batteries against the wall; they did not think it could long resist the violence of the cannon, because it had no platform of earth: but the grand master repaired thither immediately, and caused it to be supported on the inside by earth, beams of timber, and fascines; and as the artillery which was placed on the gate of his palace, a place of great height, commanded the batteries of the infidels, the Christian cannoneers demolished them, and broke to pieces their gabions, sheds and parapets. Their only remedy was to make new ones, which, however, did not last longer than the first; the cannon of the town did sure execution, and beat down all it was levelled at, whereas that of the infidels being ill managed, and pointed against a place of such height, and always keeping the same line and point of elevation, passed above the wall and shot at random. We may suppose that their gunners were as yet wholly ignorant of the method of lowering their cannon, and making it bear downwards against the foot of the wall.



The basha, discouraged at the little service his batteries had performed, removed and planted them against the tower of St. Nicholas. We have observed in the former book, during the mastership of the grand master d'Aubusson, the ill success of the attacks of the basha Paleologus; nor was that of the begler-bey of Romania more successful. The basha battered the tower with twelve great brass guns, but had the mortification to see his cannon dismounted, and his batteries ruined by those of the tower. To remedy this effect, which was owing to the skill of the Christian gunners, he resolved to fire only by night, and buried his cannon and gabions in the sand during the day: as soon as night came they planted them again on the platform, and above five hundred cannon-shot striking that part of the wall that looked towards the west, it was shaken down into the ditch.

The basha was delighted at the effect of his nocturnal battery, and fed himself with vain hopes of carrying that work at the first assault: but he was greatly surprised to see a new wall appear behind the ruins of the first, strengthened with a rampart and parapet, and lined with artillery to prevent all approaches to it. He was now forced to take a resolution of beginning anew to batter this second wall.

Solyman being informed of it, sent to reconnoitre it: they gave him an account that this tower was the strongest part of the place, not only by its situation on a rock, which was proof against the sap, and could have no mine cut in it, but likewise by the different works added to it since the last siege; and that, under the reign of Mahomet II., the basha Paleologus had been obliged to give over this

attack. These considerations determined the sultan to remove his batteries to another place. Mustapha, by his orders, directed his attack against the principal bastions of the place; a prodigious train of artillery battered them continually, night and day, for a month together. The chevalier de Barbaran, who commanded at that of Spain, was killed by a cannon-ball. He was succeeded in his command by the chevalier John d'Omedes, afterwards grand master, of the language of Arragon, who, in defending that post, a few days after lost an eye by a musket ball. The Turks battered all these bastions at the same time; that of England was greatly damaged. A new wall, which they had made there, was entirely destroyed by the cannon of the infidels, but the old one stood firm against all the fury of the artillery: the grand master ran thither, and finding the Turks obstinately bent on that attack, he lodged himself at the foot of the wall, and, for fear of an assault, caused a reinforcement of fifty knights to enter the bastion.

That of Italy was in a still worse condition: seventeen pieces of cannon, firing on it day and night, had almost demolished the whole wall. The grand master, by Martinengo's advice, in order to obtain time to make cuts and intrenchments behind the breach, before the 'infidels' could mount to the assault, ordered two hundred men to sally out, under the command of a serving brother, called Bartholomew, and Benedict Scaramose, an engineer, who had been brought up under Martinengo: they precipitated themselves into the trenches sword in hand, surprised the Turks, killed or put to flight all that they met, and before they made their retreat, filled up a great many yards of the trenches. The Turks

did not fail, as that expert engineer had foreseen, to hasten to drive them back: but as they were forced to pass by a place that lay open and exposed, the artillery of the fortress, which they had planted on that side, killed a great number of them, and, by the help of a continual fire, the Christians, who had made the sally, got back into the city without any considerable loss.

Whilst this skirmish lasted, part of the knights were busy in digging ditches, and making cross-cut and intrenchments, to hinder the enemy from making a lodgment upon the breach, whilst others of them, with musket-shot, killed all that durst advance near it. The cannon of the place played upon, and reached such as were at a greater distance, so that whatever appeared was struck down immediately. Most of the batteries of the infidels were ruined; their gabions and sheds were beaten to pieces: and their shoulder-works could not save those that were employed about the artillery from being taken off by that of the town.

Solyman's general of the ordnance, a renegado, a man well skilled in his profession, had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, which also killed five men with the splinters of the boards in the intrenchments. The infidels, without being disheartened, repaired their batteries, from which they maintained an incessant fire; and they had so great a number of cannon, and such a great quantity of powder, that they often demolished in an hour what the Christians could hardly repair in several days. The knights began even to want powder already. D'Amaral, one of the commissioners appointed before the siege to visit the magazines, had, in order to favour the infidels, and disable the garrison from

continuing the defence, made a false report to the council, and declared that he had found more powder in the place than would serve to sustain the siege, even though it should last a whole year. But they were not long before they found to the contrary: the powder they had was diminished so considerably, that they would soon have had none left, had not the grand master made a provision of saltpetre. He immediately set all the horses of his stable to work, to beat it small, by the help of the mills that were in the place: the bailiff de Manosque and the chevalier Parisot, were appointed to superintend over this affair. However, as they had not so much saltpetre as they would have occasion for, the officers of the artillery were obliged to fire less frequently, in order to reserve their powder for the assaults which they foresaw would be made, as soon as the breaches should be made larger.

This misfortune, owing to the treachery of the Portuguese knight, was attended by another, occasioned by some young knights, whilst the Turks were giving a false alarm to the post of Auvergne. The guards were bringing from work a company of slaves, about 120 in number, who were ordinarily employed in digging the ground, or in drawing stones and beams to make intrenchments. These young knights, meeting them, struck some of them for diversion's sake, just as a body of old knights were passing by, and who were marching in haste to the post of Auvergne, upon the signals made on occasion of the false alarm that was given by the Turks. They immediately imagined that those slaves, from an impatient desire of liberty, were risen, and that the young knights attacked them in earnest. Possessed with this notion, they fell upon

those poor wretches sword in hand, and cut them to pieces: by this unhappy mistake killing a company of innocent men, and depriving themselves of the assistance they received from these slaves, who would have served to supply the places of the Christian pioneers, who fell daily in great numbers, either by the enemies cannon, or by musket shot fired out of fuses of a large bore, that carried as far as the breaches, and into the very city.

The Turkish general, discovering that these peasants, without minding how they exposed their lives, were by Martinengo's directions making barricades, cuts, and intrenchments, along the breaches, had chosen out of his army a good number of fowlers that were excellent marksmen. He had placed them upon eminences that were nearest the place, and upon cavaliers that commanded it, from whence they fetched down with their harquebusses all that appeared upon the ramparts. Martinengo, seeing his workmen killed without being able to secure them from the enemies fire, made them, by way of a counter-battery, plant some small field-pieces on the roofs of the highest houses. These on their side killed abundance of the fowlers, but the killing or disabling ten of these workmen did not make the order amends for the death of one Christian soldier or pioneer: the town, being reduced to a small number of defendants, could not lose one of them without drawing nearer its ruin: and the grand master, in order to protract it, had no resource, but either in a speedy succour, or by prolonging the siege, and holding out till the coming of winter and bad weather, when he imagined the Turkish fleet would not be able to keep the sea.

The war had hitherto been carried on between

the besiegers and the besieged, by firing at one another: and though that of the Turks, by reason of the multitude of their cannon, and the great quantity of their powder, was vastly superior, yet they were not masters of one inch of ground in the bastions and advanced works of the place. The barricadoes and intrenchments served instead of the walls that were beaten down: there was no carrying these new works but by an assault; and, in order to make it, it was necessary to try the descent of the ditch, or fill it up. Solyman, who had a prodigious number of pioneers in his army, made various detachments of them, some to throw earth and stones into the ditch; but the knights, by help of their casemates, carried off by night what they had thrown in by day: other pioneers were employed in digging mines in five different places, in each of which they were carried on towards the bastion over against it. Some of them were countermined by the vigilance of Martinengo, to whom we are indebted for the invention of discovering the place where they were carrying on, by drums and skins hard braced and stretched.

The Turks had worked with so much skill, that the several branches of these mines had all a communication with one another; and all of them, in order to do the greater execution, centered at last in one place. Martinengo discovered one in the middle of the ditch of Provence, that began at St. John's church. De la Fontaine, an engineer, had it broke open immediately, drove the miners out of it with grenades, and threw in barrels of powder, which burned and smothered all that were in those subterraneous passages. But notwithstanding all the pains he took, he could not prevent them spring-

ing two mines, one after another, under the bastion of England, the force of which was so violent, that they blew up twelve yards of the wall, and the ruins of it filled up the ditch.

The breach appeared so large and so easy to mount, that several battalions of the infidels, who waited the success of the mine, ran immediately to the assault with great shouts, and sabre in hand. They got in a moment to the top of the bastion, planted seven standards upon it, and would have made themselves masters of it, had they not met a cross cut or intrenchment behind it that stopped them. The knights, recovering from the confusion that the explosion of the mine had thrown them into, ran to the bastion and charged the Turks with musket-shot, grenades and stones. The grand master was, at the very time that the mine sprung, in a church not far off, where he was before the altar, imploring from heaven the succour which the princes of the earth refused him. He judged, by the dreadful crash he heard, that the explosion would be soon followed with an assault, he rose up immediately, and it happening to be at that very instant when the priests were beginning divine service, and were chanting this preliminary prayer, *Deus in adjutorium meum intende—O God, make haste to deliver me:* "I accept the omen," cried the pious grand master, and turning about to some old knights that were with him, "Let us go, my brethren, to change the sacrifice of our praises into that of our lives, and die, if it must be so, for the defence of our holy law."

He advanced immediately with his half-pike in his hand, mounts upon the bastion, comes up to the Turks, breaks, overturns, and kills all that opposes

him: he pulls down the enemy's standards, and recovers the bastion with an irresistible impetuosity. General Mustapha, who saw from the trenches the consternation and flight of his soldiers, sallied out of them sabre in hand, killed the first of the fugitives he met, and showed the rest, that they would find less safety near their general than on the breach. He advanced boldly himself; his reproaches, and the shame of deserving them, made the runaways rally about him; the engagement begins afresh; the dispute grows bloody; fire and sword are equally employed on both sides; they kill one another, both at a distance and near, with musket shot and the sword; they grapple with one another, and the strongest or the most dexterous dispatches his enemy with a stroke of his poinard. The Turks, lying exposed to musket-shot, stores, granadoes and fire-pots, at length abandon the breach, and turn their backs; in vain does their general strive, by threats and promises, to bring them back to the charge; they all break and take to their heels; but in their flight find a death they were afraid of meeting in the action; and they made such a continual fire of artillery from different parts of the town, upon the foot of the breach, that the Turks lost on this occasion, three sangiacks or governors of places, and three thousand men. The order, however, lost the great master of the artillery, the chevalier d'Argillemont, captain or general of the galleys, the chevalier de Mauselle, who carried the grand master's standard, and several other knights, who were killed fighting valiantly.

Scarcely a day passed but was signalized by some new attack. Every general officer, to please the grand seignior, endeavoured, at the expence of the



lives of the soldiers, to push on the works committed to his care. Peri basha, an old captain, notwithstanding his advanced age, distinguished himself by continual enterprises: he was posted against the bastion of Italy, and never gave the besieged a moment's repose, either day or night. The hopes he had of carrying that work, made him plant a large body of infantry, so as to be concealed, behind a cavalier, which they had raised on the side of the ditch, and on the thirteenth of September, at day break, when the besieged, quite spent with fatigue and continual watching, were overtaken with sleep, he ordered his troops to make the assault: they dispatched the sentinels, passed the breach, and were ready to seize the intrenchments, when the Italians, amazed to see the enemy so near them, rushed with fury upon the infidels, who opposed them with as much courage and resolution. The fight was maintained by the valour of both for a long time. The basha stood exposed by the side of the ditch, from whence he sent them continually new reinforcements: but whilst he was exhorting them to merit the recompence, which the grand seignior promised to such as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, the governor of the isle of Negrepont, a young lord of singular valour, and Solyman's favourite, was killed by his side, with a musket ball. Peri, either fearing that the grand seignior would impute the death of his favourite to him, or else desiring to revenge it, redoubled his efforts. The grand master, whose valour and love for his order, multiplied him, as we may say, on this occasion, ran to the support of the Italians, with a particular body of knights that adhered to his person. "Let us go," said he to those

about him, "and repulse the Turks: we should not be afraid of men, whom we daily throw into panic fear." At the same time he charged the infidels with his half-pike in his hand. The knights of the language of Italy, under his eye, and in imitation of so glorious an example, performed the most glorious actions: they all exposed themselves to the greatest dangers. A great number of them were killed on this occasion; and we must do them this justice, that, next to the grand master, the saving of Rhodes was that day owing to their courage and intrepidity.

Peri, judiciously concluding, that it would be in vain for him to persist in an attack, which the grand master himself defended, contented himself with continuing the engagement, and drawing his body of foot from behind the cavalier that served to cover them, he put himself at their head, and went to attack a new bastion, built in the mastership of Caretto, imagining it to be not so well provided with defendants, and that he should be able to surprise it. His troops advanced to the assault with great resolution, but were repulsed with equal vigour by the chevalier d'Andelot, who commanded at that work. The citizens and inhabitants ran to his succour: the Turks were soon overwhelmed with showers of grenades, stones, bitumen and boiling oil; and the artillery, planted upon the flanks of the adjoining bastions, scouring the ditch, made a horrible slaughter of them. Peri, after losing abundance of men in these two attacks, was forced against his will to sound a retreat.

The janizaries, disheartened at so many unsuccessful attacks, murmured loudly against an enterprise, wherein so many of their brave comrades

daily lost their lives. The vizier Mustapha, fearing lest these complaints should reach the ear of Solyman, and that that prince, like most of his predecessors, should make him responsible for the ill success, resolved to make a new assault on the bastion of England, and either carry the place, or die at the foot of the intrenchments. He communicated his design to Achmet basha, who was encamped, and commanded in the quarter opposite to the posts of Spain and Auvergne. These two generals agreed, that whilst the vizier attacked the English bastion, Achmet, in order to divide the forces of the besieged, should spring his mines, and mount over the ruins they would make upon the breaches, and make a lodgment there. This enterprise was put in execution on the seventeenth of September. Mustapha sallied out of the trenches, at the head of five battalions: the infidels, animated by his presence, climbed up the rubbish and ruins of the wall, and mounted boldly to the assault, got upon the breach, and notwithstanding the fire of the besieged, made their way as far as the intrenchments, and planted some ensigns upon them. But they did not keep this first advantage long. A swarm of English knights, led on by John Buck, a commander of that nation, sallied out from behind the intrenchments, and being sustained by Prejan, grand prior of St. Giles, and the commander Christopher Valdner, of the language of Germany, made so furious a charge, that the infidels were forced to give back. They retired in good order, however, and still fighting. Mustapha, a much braver soldier than an able general, advanced with a reinforcement to their succour: the engagement was renewed with equal fury; the Turkish general threw himself into the

midst of the knights, killed some of them with his own hand, and had he been as well followed by his soldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces especially, that played upon the breach, and a great number of musketeers, who galled them from behind the intrenchments, made so terrible a fire, that the infidels, no longer regarding the menaces of Mustapha, abandoned the breach, and dragged him along with them in their flight. How glorious soever this success might be to the order, nevertheless the knights paid very dear for it; they lost the commanders Buck and Valduer, several English and German knights, and the greatest part of their principal officers.

Achmet basha was as unfortunate as general Mustapha in his attack: he sprung his mines, as had been agreed between them; but that which was under the post of Auvergne took vent, and did no execution. The mine which played under the post of Spain, threw down about four yards of an advanced work, which served as a sort of fore-wall. The Turks immediately advanced to seize it, but met a body of Spanish knights upon the ruins of it, that prevented them from approaching; they fought for some time at a distance with musket shot, but as the Turks advanced in close and good order to break through the besieged, the chevalier de Mesnil, captain of the bulwark or bastion of Auvergne, and the chevalier de Grimereaux, made the artillery of their posts play so a-propos and continually upon the thickest of the battalions of the janizaries, that those troops, though brave, and the flower of the army, could not stand its fury, but dispersed, and made the best of their way to the trenches.

Solyman lost that day three thousand men, and the order, besides the chieftains abovementioned, had likewise several knights killed on these two occasions; and among the rest Philip de Arcillan, of Spanish extraction, whose great valour justly merited him the honour of having his name recorded. Prejan de Bidoux, grand prior of St. Giles, who made all the posts that were attacked his own, was shot through the neck with a musket-ball, but was happily cured of his wound.

About this time, Sept. 20, they discovered the treason of the Jewish physician, who, by order of Selim I. had formerly settled at Rhodes, where he was a spy to the Turks. They caught him shooting an arrow with a letter tied to it into their camp; upon which he was immediately seized, and being on such strong presumptions put to the torture, he owned, that he had given the infidels continual advice of the weak parts of the place, and of every thing that passed in it; and that, when he was seized, it was the fifth letter that he had conveyed to them in the same way. His judges condemned him to be quartered, and it is pretended that he died a Christian. His confession of Christianity was very much suspected: but if he made it only to save his life, it was unavailing, for he suffered the punishment he so justly deserved.

Solyman, in the meantime, enraged at the little progress of his arms, held a great council of war, to which he summoned his principal officers. Various opinions were proposed in it. Mustapha, who, before the siege, out of pure complaisance, had represented the enterprise as easy; now dreading his passion and resentment, proposed the giving a general assault, and attacking the town in four diffe-

rent places at the same time. "One would imagine," says he, "that we were making war in concert with our enemies, and that from a romantic point of generosity we would not fight them but upon equal terms. We never attack but one post at a time, and as the knights draw all their forces thither, we need not think it strange to find a set of brave men, the very flower of Christendom, maintain their ground against our soldiers. But if the whole army was to surround the place, and that detachments were to be drawn out to assault all the places where there are breaches, and also new supplies sent continually to reinforce those that should make the attack, the Rhodians would be obliged to divide their forces, and could never be able to stand before us.

The grand seignior approved of this advice: the general assault was fixed for the 24th of September; and Solyman, to inspire new ardour into his soldiers, gave out, that he would give them the plundering of Rhodes, provided they could take it sword in hand. The Turks, before they gave this assault, made a continual fire with their cannon; and, in order to enlarge the breaches, battered the bastions of England and Spain, the post of Provence, and the platform of Italy two days together. The evening before the assault, the grand master suspected, by the motions he perceived in the enemy's camp, that they were going to attack him: he gave out his orders, and the knights, following his example, redoubled their care: but though they had just reason to fear, that the enemy would take their advantage of opening a passage through the ruins of those strong holds that had been battered down in the vast circuit of the walls, they yet were forced to regulate their measures by the few troops they

had left, and to distribute the old commanders and principal officers into such posts as the violence of the attacks, the wideness of the breaches, and the defect in the fortifications exposed to the greatest dangers.

The grand master taking up his weapons, visited all the quarters to see the disposition of his troops, and exhort them to a noble defence; and addressing himself to the knights whom he found in their respective posts; "I should offer violence to your courage," said he to them, "should I pretend to invigorate it by a harangue; and it would be throwing away time, to tell you, what your valour has so often inspired into you on the like occasions. Consider only, my dear brethren, that we are going to fight for our order, and for the defence of our religion, and that a glorious victory must be the reward of our valour, or else Rhodes, the strongest rampart of Christendom, must serve us for a grave." Whenever he met any of the townsmen and inhabitants, "Think," said he to them, "that besides the defence of the faith, you have taken up arms for your country, for your wives, your maidens, and your children: fight gallantly, my friends, in order to rescue them from the infamy that the barbarians threaten them with: their liberty and your own, your blood, your honour, and your fortunes are all in your hands, and depend upon your bravery."

These few words, pronounced with a heroic ardour, had such an effect on all, that the townsmen as well as the knights, and the Greeks no less than the Latins, made public protestations, that nothing but death should make them abandon their posts; and embracing one another in a most tender and affectionate manner, their eyes streaming with tears,

they bid as it were a last adieu to each other, resolutely bent either to conquer or die.

The Turks at day break made a furious fire from all their batteries, especially against the posts which they designed to attack, not only in order to widen the breaches, but also to be less exposed to view, as they marched through the smoke of the artillery. They mounted boldly to the assault in four different places: they had never discovered so much resolution since the beginning of the siege, especially the janizaries, who fought under the young sultan's eye.

That prince, in order to animate them by his presence, had placed himself on a rising ground, where a scaffold was erected for him, whence, as from an amphitheatre, he was able to distinguish and judge of the valour of those brave fellows, without any danger to himself. The cannon of the place begins to play: this is succeeded by showers of arrows and musket-shot. The knights in all quarters show their intrepidity, and the soldiers their obedience and courage; some of them burn the assailants with boiling oil and fire-works, whilst others roll stones of a vast size upon them, or pierce them through with their pikes. The English bastion was the place where there was the greatest bloodshed: it was the weakest part of the place, the warmest attacked, and the best defended. The grand master runs thither himself: his presence on the one side inspires the knights with fresh ardour; hope of booty on the other encourages the Turkish soldier. Never did the infidels discover so much eagerness in battle; they mount upon the ruins of the wall through a storm of bullets, javelins and stones: nothing stops them, and several of them leaped like so many de-



sperados from the machines which they had brought near the walls upon the ramparts, where they were soon cut to pieces. The knights throw the Turks from the top of the breach headlong into the ditch: they overturn the ladders, and the cannon of the place makes so terrible a slaughter, that the Turks give way, retire back, and are ready to give over the assault. But the general's lieutenant, who commanded at that attack, an officer highly respected among the soldiers for his rare valour, rallies, and leads them on to the attack: he himself mounts first upon the breach and plants an ensign on it. Happily for the besieged, a cannon ball, fired from the post of Spain, carries him off, and throws him in the ditch. One would have thought, that his death would naturally have cooled the ardour of his soldiers: but thirst of revenge inspired them that instant with a contrary sentiment, and filled their hearts with a sort of rage and fury; they rush on headlong into danger, pleased to die themselves, provided they could kill a Christian. But all their impetuosity could not make the knights retire one single step. The priests, the religious, the old men, and the very children resolve to have their share of the danger, and repulse the enemy with stones, boiling oil, and combustible matter.

Neither did the women yield in assiduity to the pioneers, nor was their bravery inferior to that of the soldiers: several lost their lives in defending their husbands and children. Historians make mention of a Greek woman of exquisite beauty, that was mistress to an officer who had a command in that bastion, and had been just killed, on which, distracted at the death of her lover, and resolving not to survive him, after kissing the two children she

had by him, and making the sign of the cross on their foreheads, "It is better for you, my dear children," said she to them, with tears in her eyes, "to die by my hands, than by those of our merciless enemies, or to be reserved for infamous pleasures, more odious than death itself." Then inspired with fury, she took up a knife, cut their throats, threw their bodies into the fire, put on the officer's clothes that were still dyed with his blood, snatched up his sabre, ran to the breach, killed the first Turk she met, wounds several others, and dies fighting with a bravery equal to the most resolute soldier.

The engagement was carried on with equal fury and obstinacy at the other attacks. The greatest danger was at the post of Spain. The aga of the janizaries, who commanded on that side, led on his soldiers to the assault: the artillery of the place killed a great number of them before they could get to the foot of the breach. Such of the Turks as are able to cross the ditch go to undermine the wall, and are frequently buried under its ruins, while others of them make use of ladders to mount up: some of them heap the dead bodies of their comrades on one another, get to the top of the wall in spite of all the opposition of the besieged, and penetrate as far as the intrenchments, on which, it is said, they planted no less than thirty standards. Unhappily for the knights, such of them as had the guard of the bastion of Spain had like to have been surprised by not standing on their guard. The Turks having showed no signs of any design to attack them, those knights, reproaching themselves for being idle in their post, and seeing the bastion of Italy hard pressed by the enemy, ran to their

succour, and left only a few sentinels upon the bastion of Spain. These soldiers likewise, contrary to all the rules of war, quitted their post, to help the gunners in transporting some pieces of cannon which they had a mind to point against the post that the aga of the janizaries was attacking. Some Turks, who lay concealed behind a heap of ruins, seeing the bastion abandoned, mounted without being discovered, got to the top of the work, made themselves masters of it, cut the gunners to pieces, pulled down the standards of the order, and planted those of Solyman in their stead; and, proclaiming victory, invited their comrades to join them, on which the aga immediately sent a detachment of his janizaries to that place.

The grand master, having notice of this surprise, ran thither in an instant, and made them point the artillery of the bastion of Auvergne against a breach the enemy's cannon had made in that of Spain, which kept the Turks from approaching it; and, from another battery, which faced the bastion, he made them fire upon those that were in possession of it, and who were endeavouring to make a lodgment there. On another side, the commander of Bourbon, by his orders, at the head of a troop of brave soldiers, entered by the casemate into the bastion, mounted to the top upon the platform sword in hand, in order to drive out the infidels, where he found part of them killed by the cannon; he cut the rest in pieces, again set up the standards of the order, pulled down those of the Turks, and turned the artillery of the bastion upon such as were mounting a breach that had been made in that part of the wall which was called the post of Spain. The aga maintained his ground in that place in spite of the

gallant resistance of the knights. The grand master returned at the head of his guards, and threw himself into the midst of the infidels, with an ardour which made his knights tremble as much as his enemies, but from a different motive. The engagement began again with fresh fury; the soldiers, as yet unhurt, the wounded and the dying, all blended together, after a combat of six hours, want rather strength than courage to continue it. The grand master, fearing that his men, who were quite spent with such a long resistance, should at last be bore down by the multitude of their enemies, drew a reinforcement of two hundred men, with some knights at their head, out of the tower of St. Nicholas. These troops, who were fresh, and had suffered no fatigue, soon changed the face of the engagement: the janizaries began to give back; and, finding themselves pressed by these brave soldiers, abandoned the breach, and fled to recover their trenches. Solymán, to cover the shame of their flight, and save the honour of his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, after having left upon the breach, and at the foot of the wall, upwards of fifteen thousand men, and several captains of great reputations, who lost their lives in these different attacks.

The Rhodians sustained as considerable a loss as they did in proportion: and besides the soldiers and inhabitants, they had a great number of knights killed in these assaults, among which was the chevalier du Fresnoi, commander of Romagna, the commander of St. Camelle, of the language of Provence, Oliver de Tressac, of the language of Auvergne, and brother Peter Philips, the grand master's receiver. The chevalier John le Roux, surnamed Parnides, had his hand, with which he had slain

seven Turks, carried off that day by a cannon-ball; there were few knights but what were wounded, and there scarcely remained sufficient enough unhurt to continue the service.

The sultan, furious at the ill success of this enterprise, fell upon his general, Mustapha, who, out of complaisance, had advised him to it, and gave orders for his being shot to death with arrows; a sad recompence for all his services, but such a one as slaves and servile courtiers are frequently exposed to, under a despotic government. The army was drawn up in battle array, in order to be spectators of the death of their general; and the unhappy man was already tied to the fatal stake, when Peri basha, provoked at the punishment they were going to inflict on his friend, made them defer the execution, as he was persuaded that Solyman, when the heat of his passion was over, would not be concerned that they had prevented such a stain to his glory. As he had educated that young prince from his infancy, and had still a great ascendant over him, he went and threw himself at his feet, and begged him to pardon Mustapha: but he found, by his own experience, that lions are not to be tamed; Solyman, still in the first transports of his wrath, jealous of his authority, and enraged to see there was a man in his empire daring enough to suspend the execution of his orders, condemned him to undergo the same punishment. The other bashas were in a terrible consternation, and threw themselves at his feet, in order to mollify him; when the sultan, coming to himself, was moved at their tears: he pardoned Mustapha and Peri, but would never see Mustapha more; and sent him afterwards to a distance from court, under pretence of another employment.

Solyman, despairing to carry the place, seemed resolved to raise the siege; and, it is said, that whole companies and the heavy baggage began to file off towards the sea, in order to re-embark, when an Albanian soldier getting out of the town, deserted to the Turkish camp, and assured them, that most of the knights were either killed or wounded at the assault, and that those who were left were not able to sustain another. It is also said, that this deserter's report was confirmed by a letter from d'Amaral, who told the grand seignior, that the besieged were reduced to the last extremity.

These several accounts determined him to continue the siege; and, in order to show his troops and the besieged that he was resolved to pass the winter before the place, he ordered a house to be built on mount Philermé for himself to lodge in, giving, at the same time, the command of the army to Achmet basha, an able engineer, who changed the method of carrying on the siege. He resolved to be as sparing as possible of his soldiers; and, before he led them to an assault, to prepare for it by new cannonadings, and particularly by sapping, mining, and other subterraneous works, in which he was particularly skilled.

This new general made his first efforts against the bastion of Spain, the ditch whereof was narrower, and not so deep as in other places: and, in order to facilitate the descent of it, his artillery played for several days together so furiously upon the work, that he ruined all the defences of it; there was nothing left but the barbican or fausse-braye, which lay so low, that the cannon could not hurt it. The Turkish general resolved to run his trenches as far as this work, which covered the foot of the wall;

but these trenches being seen from the bastion of Auvergne, the cannon of the knights played upon them. The Turks, in order to shelter themselves from it, raised a thick wall before the trenches; but they could not bring these several works to perfection without the loss of an infinite number of soldiers and pioneers: no one could show himself but he was immediately exposed to the fire of the artillery, and a shower of musket-shot; and the knights, at the same time, were continually throwing grenades and fire-pots into their works. The Turkish general, to guard against them, raised along the curtain a gallery with planks, which he covered with raw hides, that the fire could not take hold of. Under shelter of this new work he undermined the wall, while other companies of pioneers and miners were continually at work, to penetrate under the bastions, and run mines through the place.

These mines having thrown down a great many yards of the wall of the post of Spain, the barbarians advanced to the assault; but coming up to the breach, they found themselves stopped by new intrenchments, lined with artillery, the continual fire whereof, after killing a great many of their bravest officers, and a prodigious number of soldiers, forced the rest to run to their trenches for shelter.

The bailiff Martinengo, who was always in action, had, in order to hinder the infidels from coming to reconnoitre the works he was making within the place, made them cut loop-holes for the cannon in the wall of the counterscarp on the side of the town, from whence the knights killed with musket ball all that durst advance near it. The Turks, after his example, did the like on their side, and a continual fire was maintained on both sides. Unhap-

pily, a random shot from the trenches struck Martinengo in the eye, as he was looking through one of those loop-holes, to examine the enemy's works; he fell upon receiving the shot, and they thought him mortally wounded. The order could not have had a greater loss at such a juncture; for he was in a manner the sole director of all operations, and determined the time and the place where the knights should exert their valour.

The grand master, upon the news of his wound, ran immediately to the place, and caused him to be carried into his own palace: by his care he was afterwards cured of his wound, the knights and all the people offering up their prayers for his recovery. The grand master filled up his post in his illness, and undertook to defend the post of Spain. The chevalier de Cluys, grand prior of France, the commander of St. Jaille, bailiff of Manosque, the bailiff of the Morea, and the oldest knights of the order, staid about the grand master's person, in order to share with him in the perils and glory of this defence. Actions of extraordinary valour were performed on both sides: there were new engagements every day. It would appear very surprising, that so small a number of Christians, who had nothing to cover them but some barricadoes and weak intrenchments, should be able to hold out so long against such a prodigious number of assailants, if this handful of men had not been composed of old knights, whose valour had been experienced on a thousand other occasions, and who on this were unanimously resolved to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their religion. Men are very strong, and very formidable, when they are not afraid of death.



Historians, speaking of their zeal and courage, use but one sort of eulogium for all these noble soldiers of Jesus Christ. Not but there were among these warriors different talents, and more or less capacity in the arts of war; and we should justly deserve to be censured, if we did not do justice to the memory of the grand master, who, for four and thirty days, that the illness of the bailiff de Martinengo lasted, never stirred from the intrenchment made on the Spanish bastion, nor ever took any rest either day or night, excepting only for some moments on a mattress, which they laid for him at the foot of the intrenchment; officiating, sometimes, in the quality of a soldier, and sometimes in that of pioneer, but always in that of general, if we except that ardour which made him fight like a young knight, and rush into perils with less precaution than became a sovereign.

The example of the grand master, who was so very careless of his own life, made the knights, left in the principal posts of the place, daily expose their own, sometimes in defending the breaches and intrenchments, and often in engagements under ground, when they were to countermine and meet with the enemy's miners; there scarcely passed a day without an engagement in some place or other. Besides the bastion of Spain, which was almost entirely destroyed, the Turks directed their principal attacks against the posts of England, Provence and Italy. The prodigious number of troops, of which their army consisted, easily supplied them with men for all these attacks: the walls were quite demolished in several places, and the breaches were so large, that the Turks could mount in formed battalions to the assault of the bastion of England. The knights,

who had undertaken the defence of it, lined the ramparts sword in hand, and with their bodies made a new parapet for its defence. They were seconded by the artillery of the city, which played from several places upon the foot of the breach. The infidels, without being daunted at the number of their slain, rushed on with fury to attack the knights; they came up with them, grappled with them, and by their multitudes, as much as by their courage, forced them to give back. Those noble defendants saw themselves on the point of being overwhelmed by the crowd of their enemies, when the chevalier de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, and one of the adjutant-captains, as they were then called, ran with his company to their succour, restored the battle, forced the infidels in their turn to retire, and with new efforts obliged them at last, after the loss of above six hundred men, to sound a retreat.

But if the order had such brave defendants in the person of her knights, she also nourished in her bosom, and even among her principal chiefs, a traitor, who omitted nothing to forward the loss of Rhodes, and the ruin of the whole order. The reader may easily perceive, that I mean the chancellor d'Amaral. The commander de Bourbon, in his account of the siege of Rhodes, relates this tragical event as follows.

D'Amaral, ever tormented with rage, and without being moved at seeing the blood of his brethren shed every day, still maintained his criminal intelligence with the Turks. One of his valets, Blaise Diez by name, in whom he entirely confided, used to come with a bow in his hand, at unreasonable hours, to the post of Auvergne, whence, whenever he thought himself unobserved, he shot an arrow,

with a letter fixed to it, into the enemy's camp. His frequent resort to the same place, especially in a besieged city, immediately gave some suspicion; but as they had not seen him shoot any of his letters, and besides that he belonged to a person of great authority, those who had observed his stolen visits thither were afraid to mention it, from the dread of drawing upon themselves the resentment of a powerful and revengeful man. There was only one knight, who, stifling all considerations, and seeing the servant often return to the same place, gave private notice thereof to the grand master, who immediately gave orders for the seizing of this servant: he was afterwards examined by the judges of the castellany, who, not being satisfied with his equivocal answers to their interrogatories, ordered him to be put to the torture. He owned, upon the very first twitches of it, that he had, by his master's command, thrown several letters into the Turkish camp, to point out to them the weakest places of the city. He added, that he had also acquainted them, that the order had lost the greatest part of its knights in the last assaults; and besides, that the city was in want of wine, powder, ammunition and provisions; but that, though the grand master was reduced to extremity, the grand seignior ought not yet to flatter himself with the thought of being master of the place any other way than by force of arms.

This deposition was laid before the council, who gave orders for seizing the chancellor, whom they carried to the tower of St. Nicholas. Two commanders, grand crosses, repaired thither, with the magistrates of the city, to examine and try him: they read to him the deposition of his servant, who was

afterwards confronted with him, and maintained to his face, that it was by his orders only that he had frequently gone to the bastion of Auvergne, and had thrown letters from thence into the camp of the infidels. This deposition was confirmed by that of a Greek priest, chaplain to the order, who declared before the judges, that, passing one day by the *fausse-braye* of the bastion of Auvergne, in order to observe the enemy's works, he found the chancellor in a bye corner with this very servant, who had a cross-bow, with a quarrel or square arrow in his hand, to which he perceived there was a paper tied; that the chancellor, who was then looking through a loop-hole for the cannon, returning back, seemed surprised to see him so near him, and demanded of him roughly, and in an angry manner, what he wanted: and that, finding his presence in that place was disagreeable to him, he had made off as fast as possible.

Diez agreed to the Greek priest's deposition in all its circumstances. This servant, who might perhaps flatter himself with the hopes of escaping punishment by accusing his master, added further, that the chancellor was the person that had persuaded the grand seignior to invade the island, by the intelligence he sent him of the condition of the place, and dispatching the slave before-mentioned to Constantinople, the whole negotiation passing through his hands. They put the chancellor at the same time in mind, that, on the day of the grand master's election, he could not help saying, that he would be the last grand master of Rhodes.

D'Amaral, no ways confused, being confronted a second time with his servant and the Greek priest, affirmed, that Diez was a villain and an impostor,

whose deposition, he said, was nothing else but the effect of the resentment he had entertained on account of the punishments that his ill conduct had occasioned him. He flatly denied all the facts advanced by the Greek priest, with an intrepidity that ought only to attend on innocence: they were forced in fine to have recourse to the rack; but, before they put him to it, the judges, who were his brother knights, in order to save him from the tortures of it, as also to get from him an account of his accomplices, conjured him, in the most pressing terms, to encourage them to save his life by an ingenuous confession of his faults; but the chancellor rejected their good offices with indignation, and demanded of them haughtily, if they thought him base enough, after having served the order for above forty years, to dishonour himself at the end of his life, by the confession of a crime which he was incapable of committing. He bore the torture with the same intrepidity; and owned only, that at the time of the grand master's election, at a time when the Turks were threatening Rhodes with a siege, having no great opinion, as he said, of the courage and abilities of l'Isle-Adam, he had dropped a word or two, and said, that he would, perhaps, be the last grand master of Rhodes; when, turning towards his judges, he asked them, if a word, that emulation and a rivalry for the same dignity had extorted from him, deserved to have the great chancellor of the order put into the hands of executioners. But the judges, being persuaded of his criminal correspondence with the Turks, were not dazzled by his protestations: no one took his recriminations against Diez for proofs of his innocence: the master and servant were both condemned to death. The chan-

cellor was sentenced to be beheaded, and Diez to be hanged: their bodies were afterwards quartered, and exposed to the view of the Turks, upon the principal bastions of the place. The valet was executed first: he was a Jew, who had been converted, and declared, at his execution, that he died a good Christian. Before d'Amaral was put to death, an assembly was held in the great church of St. John, in which the bailiff de Manoosque presided. The criminal was brought thither; they read him his sentence, which ordered him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the order; which was done with all the ceremonies prescribed by the statutes. They delivered him over afterwards to the secular arm, who carried him to prison, and the next day he was carried in a chair to the public place where he was to be executed. He looked upon all the preparatives to his execution, and the approaches of death, with a resolution worthy of a better cause; but his refusing, in that extremity, to recommend himself to the protection of the Blessed Virgin, whose image the priest that assisted him presented to him, gave them no advantageous opinion of his piety. Fontanus, a contemporary historian, and an eyewitness of what passed, speaking of the very different deaths of two grand crosses, who were appointed in the beginning of the siege, in joint commission with d'Amaral, to visit and take care of the ammunition and provisions, and who were both killed in assaults, adds, with regard to the chancellor, whom he speaks of but does not name; "God had reserved the last of the three for a shameful death, which he richly deserved." However, the services he had done the order for so many years, his intrepidity under the most exquisite torments of

the rack, the ancient and valuable fidelity of the Portuguese gentry to their sovereigns, of which there are so many illustrious examples in history: all this might serve to balance the deposition of a servant: and perhaps the chancellor would not have been treated so very rigorously, if, when the public safety is at stake, bare suspicion were not a crime, that state-policy seldom pardons.

But, be that as it will, to resume the relation of this famous siege, Solyman, tired out with its continuance, and the little success of his miners, ordered Achmet to begin his batteries again, and dispose his soldiers for a general assault. The eyes of all the universe were then fixed upon Rhodes. The Turks flattered themselves with hopes of carrying it by storm; and the knights, who were reduced to a small number, and were rather hid and buried than fortified in the little ground that was left them, waited with impatience for the succours which the Christian princes had so long fed them with the vain hopes of sending them, in order to raise the siege. But the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. king of France, were so obstinately animated against one another, that they durst not send away their troops or divide them: and the other European princes, most of whom were engaged on the side of one of those two princes, and were afraid lest their own territories should be invaded, kept their forces about them for fear of a surprise. The pope himself, Adrian VI. a pious and indeed learned pontiff, but of no great capacity, and entirely devoted to the emperor, being pressed by cardinal Julian de Medicis, an old knight of the order, to send his galleys to Rhodes, with a body of infantry, which then lay about Rome, the new pontiff excused himself from

so doing, under pretence, that as he was not skilled in the arts of government, he could not send away his troops whilst all Italy was in arms; though it is very probable, that he durst not dispose of them without the privity and consent of the emperor his benefactor: and that out of complaisance to that prince, instead of sending them to Rhodes, he ordered them to march into the Milanese and Lombardy, where they were employed against the French.

Thus were the grand master and his knights, after putting their whole confidence in God, left without any hopes of succour but what they could draw from the order itself: they were besides so unfortunate as not to receive a considerable convoy, which the French knights sent in two ships from the port of Marseilles. One of these ships, after a storm of several days, was lost off Monaco, and the other, losing her masts in the same storm, was stranded on the coast of Sardinia, and disabled from putting to sea. Nor were the English less unfortunate. Sir Thomas Newport, embarking with several knights of that nation, and a quantity of provisions as well as money on board, was caught in the same storm, and stranded upon a desert country. The chevalier Aulamo, of the language of Arragon, and prior of St. Martin, was in hopes of getting into the port of Rhodes. But he was met in the Archipelago by some Turkish galleys, and, after a long engagement, got out of their hands with great difficulty. The grand master, though abandoned by all human succour, did not abandon himself, or despond. This great man, in so sad an extremity, discovered the same courage, which had carried him so often upon the breach, and into the midst of his enemies.



By his orders, the knights, that resided in the adjoining isles that depended on Rhodes, and in the castle of St. Peter, quitted them, in order to preserve the capital of the order, and transported thither, on board some light barks and little brigantines, all the soldiers, arms and provisions they were masters of. The grand master, in the extremity to which he was reduced, took this step, in hopes of one day recovering those islands, if he could but maintain his ground in Rhodes. But as they had drawn the like succours from these places before, this last, the only hopes the knights had left, betrayed their weakness more than it augmented their forces. The grand master, dispatched at the same time the chevalier Farfan, of the language of England, into Candia, to endeavour to obtain provisions from thence; and sent another knight, called Des Reaux, to Naples, to hasten the succours, which were retarded by the rigour of the season: but all his endeavours were fruitless; and one would have thought, that the winds and the sea had conspired the loss of the isle of Rhodes, and of this armament, the last supply that the besieged had any hopes of.

The Turks, to whom some deserters had represented these succours as stronger and much nearer than they were in reality, used their endeavours to prevent them. Achmet, who, under Solyman's orders, had the whole direction of the siege, planted a battery of seventeen cannon against the bastion of Italy, and completed the ruin of all the fortifications. He afterwards ran his trenches to the foot of the wall; and to secure his men from being galled by the artillery of the place, he covered these new works with thick planks and great beams of timber. His pioneers afterwards pierced through

the wall, and ran their mines as far as the intrenchments, and then digging away the earth that supported them, they made them sink, so that the knights were forced to retire farther within the town: and the grand master, who never stirred from the attacks, seeing the infidels masters of the best part of the platform of the bastion, was forced to demolish the church of St. Pantaleon, and the chapel of Notre Dame de la Victoire, to hinder the Turks from making lodgements there, and he employed the materials of those two churches in making new barricadoes and intrenchments, to hinder the enemy from penetrating farther into the place.

The Turkish general had the same success at the bastion of England. After his artillery had played upon it for several days, and that he had demolished the walls and ruined the fortifications, several knights proposed to abandon it; but that they should first fill the mines that were under it with powder, in order to blow up the infidels that should throw themselves into it. But it was remonstrated in the council of war, held on this subject, that in the extremity to which they were reduced, the saving of the place depended entirely on prolonging the siege, so as to allow time for the succours they expected to arrive; and that therefore there was not a foot of ground, but what was to be disputed with the enemy as long as possible. This last opinion prevailed; and though the bastion was entirely ruined by mines, and the fire of the artillery, nevertheless the chevalier Bin de Malicome, offered generously to defend it; and in spite of the continual attacks of the Turks, he maintained it with great glory to the very end of the siege.

The Turks did not allow any more rest to the

knights that defended the posts of Italy and Spain. They attacked the first on the 22d of November. They, as has been already observed, had seized on the best part of the platform of Italy; the knights had scarce a third of it left, and both of them were buried as it were in subterraneous works, and divided only by planks and beams from one another. The Turks, seeing themselves in possession of the greatest part of this platform, undertook to drive the knights entirely out of it. A battalion of the infidels, on the side next the sea, mounted to the assault, whilst another body attacked their intrenchments sword in hand. But they met with the same valour and resistance in all places; and though the knights had lost abundance of men in these bloody attacks, they yet repulsed the infidels, and obliged them to retire.

It was however only to return a few days afterwards in much greater numbers. The attack was preceded by a mine, which they sprung under the bastion of Spain. It made a great pannel of the wall fall down: and in order to hinder the knights from making new intrenchments behind this breach, a battery of their largest cannon played for a whole night and day without intermission upon this place. The Turks, upon the thirtieth of November, returned at day break to the assault, whilst Peri basha at the same time attacked the Italian platform again. But the main effort of the infidels was made against the bastion of Spain; the Turks in great numbers, and sustained by the bravest troops of their army, advanced boldly up to the breach, notwithstanding all the fire of the artillery, and small shot of the besieged; their great numbers prevailed over all the courage of the Rhodians, and they per-

netrated as far as the intrenchments, which the bailiff Martinengo had made before he was wounded : but at the sound of the bells which proclaimed the danger that the city was in, the grand master, the prior of St. Giles, the bailiff Martinengo, who was not yet quite cured of his wound, ran from different places, with the greatest part of the knights and inhabitants ; none of them observing any order but what his courage and perhaps his despair dictated ; and all of them, regardless how they exposed their lives, rushed with a kind of fury upon the Turks. The infidels did not show less courage ; they grappled with one another with equal advantage, and without being able to discover what the success of this terrible engagement would be. Happily for Rhodes there fell a prodigious rain ; floods of water fell from the skies, and washed away the earth that served as a shoulder work to the trenches of the infidels. This laying them open to the artillery of the post of Auvergne, it played furiously, and killed a great number of them ; and the other batteries, which they had placed upon the mills of Colquin, and the musketeers of the knights firing continually upon the breach, and in the midst of the enemy that was lodged there, made so horrible a slaughter of them that such as could escape the fury of the cannon ran as fast as possible to their camp and trenches, notwithstanding all the menaces of their officers.

The Turks were not more successful in their attack of the platform of Italy : Peri basha, who commanded at it, after losing his bravest men, and hearing of the ill success of the attack on the Spanish bastion, seeing likewise his troops almost drowned with rain, ordered the retreat to be sounded. Such was the success of a day, which would have been

the last for the liberty of Rhodes, had not the grand master and his knights preserved it, by neglecting their own preservation, and bravely exposing their lives without the least reserve.

Solyman could not see his troops coming back in disorder, and in a downright flight, without falling into a passion: he had been almost six months, with 200,000 men, before the place, without being able to take it: the vexation he felt, and his apprehensions that the Christian princes might at last unite their forces in order to oblige him to raise the siege, made him shut himself up some days in his tent, without suffering any of his captains to come near him. No one durst offer to come into his presence: no one but Peri basha his old governor, who had a particular privilege to enter, durst venture to speak to him. That subtle minister, in order to bring him to a better temper, represented to him, that the troops were lodged upon the principal bastions; that he was in possession of part of the place; and that another assault would carry it: that they had indeed to deal with a set of desperate men, who would suffer themselves to be all killed to a man rather than surrender; but that the knights were reduced to a small number; that the inhabitants, who were most of them Greeks, had not the same courage, nor indeed the same interest to be obstinate in the defence of the place, and that he was persuaded they would not reject a composition which offered them security for their lives and fortunes: the sultan approved this advice, and ordered him to put it in execution.

Peri ordered several letters in the grand seignior's name to be thrown into the place, exhorting the inhabitants to submit to his empire, and threatening

them at the same time with the most cruel treatment, themselves, their wives and children, if they should be taken by storm. The basha afterwards employed a Genoese, that happened to be in Solyman's camp, who, advancing near the bastion of Auvergne, desired leave to speak. This Genoese, whose name was Hieronymo Monilio, affecting a feigned compassion, said, that as he was a Christian, he could not bear to see the approaching loss and massacre of so many Christians his brethren, who would be overwhelmed with the formidable power of Solyman; that their fortifications were destroyed, their intrenchments ruined, and the enemy already lodged within the place; that they ought in prudence to prevent the dismal consequences of a town's being carried by storm, and that it would not perhaps be impossible to obtain a sure and even an honourable composition from Solyman. The commander of the bastion, by the grand master's order, answered him, that the knights of St. John never treated with the infidels but sword in hand; and for fear lest his artful discourse should make any impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, he ordered him to retire. The cunning agent of the basha, far from being discouraged, returned two days afterwards to the same place, under pretence of having letters to deliver to a Genoese that was in the place. But the commandant, ordering him to retire, he declared that he brought a packet from Solyman to the grand master: this was a new pretext for entering into a negotiation; but the grand master eluded it, by refusing to receive it, from the apprehensions he was under, that the bare appearances of a treaty would enervate the courage of the soldiers and inhabitants; and in order to oblige

this negociator to go off, they fired some musket-shot at him. An Albanian deserter from the city, who had entered afterwards into Solyman's service, was the next to act his part, and after the usual signals, desired admittance into the place, in order to present the grand master with a letter, which he was to deliver to him from the sultan; but he was not better received than the Genoese. The grand master, for fear of discouraging his troops, refused to give him audience, and declared to him, that they would for the future, without any regard to signals of parley, or the character of envoys, fire upon all that should offer to come near the place.

Nevertheless the frequent arrival of these agents, and the grand seignior's letters, which the basha had taken care to throw into the city, did not fail to produce the desired effect. The greatest part of the inhabitants, being of the Greek religion, began to hold private meetings between themselves; the most mutinous, or rather the most timorous and cowardly, represented, that most of them had lost their relations and friends in the many assaults that had been given; that they themselves were on the brink of ruin; that the enemy was intrenched within the place, and that at the very first attack they should see themselves overwhelmed with the formidable multitude of the infidels; that they had, for a long time, been resolved to sacrifice their own lives, but could not see the dishonour and slavery of their wives and children without the most piercing affliction; that they might prevent such a terrible calamity by surrendering on honourable terms; and, after all, that whatever the knights might allege, the example of so many Christian states, that lived peaceably under the dominion of the Turks,

was a proof that they might do the same; and by paying a small tribute, they might also save both their religion and their fortunes.

Such discourses as these, repeated at different meetings, determined the most considerable of the inhabitants to apply to their metropolitan: they begged him to take pity on his people, and to represent to the grand master, that if he did not immediately treat with the grand seignior, they must necessarily be the first victims of the fury of the victorious soldiers, and that he himself would see the churches profaned, the relics of the saints trampled under foot, and the women and virgins exposed to the brutality of the infidels. The prelate entered into these just considerations, and laid the remonstrances and request of his people before the grand master. The grand master at first rejected the proposals of the metropolitan with a noble disdain, and declared to him, that he and his knights had, when they shut themselves up in Rhodes, resolved to be buried on the breach, or in the last intrenchments of the place; and, that he hoped the inhabitants would follow their example, and show the same courage.

But the metropolitan found them in a very different disposition; fear on one side, and a desire of peace on the other, had got the ascendant over them. New deputies were sent back the following day, who applied directly to the grand master: they declared to him, that, unless he took some measures to preserve the inhabitants, they themselves could not help taking the most proper means to secure the lives and honour of their wives and children.

The grand master fearing that despair might occasion a fatal division that would hasten the loss



of the place, referred them to the council. While they were deliberating about this important matter, three merchants knocked at the door of the council-house; on being admitted they presented a petition, signed by the principal inhabitants, in which they besought the order to make some provision for the safety of their wives and children; insinuating, at the end of the petition, that if the order should have no regard thereto, they should think themselves obliged by all laws, both divine and human, not to abandon them to the fury and brutality of the infidels. The grand master, before any answer was given them, ordered the knights who commanded at the several posts to be called in, in order to learn from them a true and exact account of the state and forces of the place. He addressed himself particularly to the grand prior of St. Giles, and the bailiff Martinengo, who had a few days before taken arms again, and resumed the defence of the place. These two great men, who had so often exposed their lives on the most dangerous occasions, declared one after the other, that they thought themselves obliged, both in conscience and honour, to represent to the assembly, that the place was not any longer tenable; that the Turks had advanced their works above forty paces forwards, and above thirty crosswise, into the city; that they were fortified there in such a manner, that they could no longer entertain the hope of driving them out, or that they themselves could retire farther back, in order to make new intrenchments; that all the pioneers and the best of the soldiers were killed; that they themselves could not be ignorant how many knights the order had lost; that the town was equally in want of ammunition and provisions; and that, without a speedy

and powerful succour they could see no resource, and had even reason to fear, that at the first attack the Christians would be bore down by the formidable power and vast numbers of the infidels.

The council, upon the report of two captains so brave in their persons, and so greatly skilled in the art of war, were unanimously of opinion, that they should enter into a treaty with Solyman. The grand master was the only person that differed from them in that respect, and who, without abating any thing of his usual constancy and magnanimity, represented to them, that in the whole course of so many ages as the order had been making war upon the infidels, the knights had, on the most perilous occasions, always preferred a holy and glorious death before a frail and precarious life; that he was ready to set them an example, and begged of them, before they took so grievous a step, to reflect once more upon it in the most serious manner.

The principal persons of the council replied, that if their own lives only were concerned, they would all follow his example, and freely die by his side; that they were ready to sacrifice their lives; that they had devoted them to God when they took the habit; but that the safety of the inhabitants was the business in question: that if the infidels should carry the place by storm, and enter it sword in hand, they would force the women and children, and all weak persons, to renounce the faith; that they would make the most of the inhabitants either slaves or renegadoes; and that the churches, and particularly the relics, which had so long been the object of their veneration at Rhodes, would be profaned by the infidels, and be made the subject of their contempt and raillery. The grand master at length

yielded to these pious considerations; and they resolved, that the first overtures of peace the sultan should make, to give an answer, and enter upon a negotiation.

The grand seignior, uneasy at the thoughts of succours, a report of which the knights had taken care to spread abroad, and unable either to take the place, or to raise the siege consistent with his honour, endeavoured, by new proposals, to shake the resolution and constancy of the knights: they planted, by his orders, a flag on the top of the church of St. Mary, and in a quarter called the Lymonitres.

The grand master thereupon ordered another to be fixed upon a mill that was at the gate of Cosquin. Upon this signal two Turks, who seemed to be considerable officers, came out of the trenches, and advanced towards the gate; they were met there by the prior of St. Giles and the bailiff Martinengo, to whom they delivered a letter from Solyman to the grand master, without speaking a word. The letter contained a summons to surrender the place, with advantageous offers, provided they should deliver it up immediately, and threats of putting all to the sword, if they delayed it any longer. The common council of the order and the great council were for hearing the conditions which the sultan offered: they agreed to give hostages on both sides. The order sent, as deputies to Solyman, Sir Anthony Grolée, called Passim, and Robert Perrucey, judge of Rhodes, who both spoke the vulgar Greek with facility. The Turks, on their side, sent into Rhodes a nephew of general Achmet's, and one of Solyman's interpreters, in whom that prince put an entire confidence. The chevalier de Grolée and his brother deputy were admitted to an audience of the grand

seignior, who told them, that he was disposed to let them go quietly out of the island and the East, provided they would immediately surrender to him Rhodes, Fort St. Peter, Lango, and the other little islands of the order: but that if, from a resolution of making a rash defence, they should be obstinate in attempting to hold out any longer against his formidable power, he would destroy all before him with fire and sword. The two deputies desired to return into the place to communicate his pretensions to the grand master and the council; but the Turks sent back Perrucey only, with orders to bring a decisive answer immediately; and general Achmet kept the chevalier de Grolée in his tent, whom he treated very honourably, and owned to him at table, in the heat of the entertainment, that the sultan had lost, at that siege, forty-four thousand men by the arms of the knights, besides almost as considerable a number, that had died of sickness and cold since the beginning of the winter.

During these preliminaries of the negociation, a company of young fellows, who were some of the most inconsiderable of the townsmen, and who had not been consulted in the petition which the principal inhabitants had presented to the grand master, ran in a tumultuous manner to the palace, to complain that they were treating with the enemy without their consent, which would be delivering them up to a perfidious nation, that gloried in breaking their faith with Christians, and that they all chose to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than be cut to pieces after the capitulation, as the inhabitants of Belgrade had been. The grand master, who was used to the bravadoes and vanity of the Greeks, answered them with great moderation, that

prudence did not allow him to publish the motives of the negociation, for fear the grand seignior should be informed of the ill condition of the place and break it, and his troops make another assault, which, he was afraid, they wanted forces sufficient to sustain; but that he was exceedingly pleased to find them so well disposed to defend their country; that they should see him always at their head, and ready to shed the last drop of his blood for the preservation of the place: he desired them only to remember to bring thither, on the first occasion that might offer itself, the same courage, and all the resolution that they boasted of in their discourse, and in the presence of their sovereign.

As no great account was made of the idle talk of a troop of braggadocios, the grand master and the council, being informed by one of their deputies of the sultan's disposition, thought fit to send two additional ambassadors to him: and chose for that employment, Don Raimond Marquet and Don Lopes Cepas, both Spaniards, who, in the audience they had of the grand seignior, demanded of him a truce for three days, in order to regulate the capitulation, and adjust the interests of the inhabitants, who were partly Latins and partly Greeks.

But that prince, being always uneasy at the reports spread in his army of an approaching succour, rejected the proposition of a truce; and in order to determine the grand master to treat immediately, he commanded his officers to begin firing again, and prepare every thing for a general assault. He sent back, at the same time, one of the new envoys, but kept the other, with a design of resuming the negociation, if he did not succeed immediately in the attack.

The batteries began to fire on both sides, but not so furiously on that of the knights, who reserved the little powder left them for the assaults they were unavoidably to stand. The grand master, seeing the attack renewed, sent for those inhabitants who had spoke to him with so much ostentation of their courage; he told them, that now was the time for their giving him proofs of it: and an order was issued in his name, and published with sound of trumpet, to all the citizens, to repair immediately to the advanced posts, with a strict injunction not to quit them either day or night, under pain of death. The townsmen obeyed this order for some days; but a certain young man, terrified at the danger to which he was exposed from the enemy's artillery, stealing home in the night, the grand master seized him, and the council of war condemned him to be hanged, as an example to the rest, and in order to keep up discipline.

Though all the fortifications of Rhodes were ruined, and the city was in a manner no more than a heap of stones and rubbish, yet the knights still kept their ground in the barbican or fausse-braye of the bastion of Spain, where the grand master himself lodged, in order to take the better care of its defence; the Turks attacked it on the 17th of December.

The engagement was very bloody and obstinate; they fought almost the whole day, on both sides, with equal animosity; the grand master, and the few knights he had left, ran to meet their wounds, and rather than survive the loss of the place, went in quest of death, that seemed to fly from them. In fine, they exerted themselves so nobly, that, after, making a terrible slaughter of the enemy, they

forced them to retire. But the infidels, animated by the reproaches of the sultan, returned the next day to the assault, and came on in such vast numbers, that the knights, borne down by their multitude, were forced to abandon the work, and throw themselves into the city, to defend it to the utmost extremity, and bury themselves in its ruins.

The townsmen, terrified at the approaching danger, abandoned their posts, and retired one after another. The grand master and his knights were forced to make alone the ordinary guard of the place; and if those noble soldiers of Jesus Christ had not remained upon the breach, it would have been surprised, and carried by assault. In fine, all the inhabitants came in a body, to beseech the grand master to resume the negotiation, and entreated him to give them leave to send two deputies of their own, along with his ambassadors, to the camp, to take care of their interests in the capitulation: the grand master consented to it: the body of the townsmen named Peter Singlifico and Nicholas Vergati, when the chevalier de Grolée, who had renewed the negotiation with general Achmet, conducted them to the camp, and desired him to present them to the grand seignior. But before they were admitted to his audience, the grand master, in some hopes, though they were very uncertain, of a succour, and with design to protract the negotiation, had directed him to show Achmet an old treaty, which sultan Bajazet had made with the grand master d'Aubusson; in which he laid his curse upon any of his successors, that should break the peace he had concluded with the knights of St. John. The grand master gave this instrument to his ambassador, that he might feel if Solyma,

who was a zealous observer of his law, could be prevailed with, in consideration of a considerable sum of money, to raise the siege. But Achmet, as soon as he cast his eyes on the paper, tore it to pieces, trod it under his feet, and drove the ambassador and deputies of the people from his presence: at length, having no succour to hope for, nor forces enough to defend the city, the grand master sent the ambassador and deputies to the camp, who, after making their compliments to the grand seignior, set themselves with Achmet to draw up the capitulation: the principal articles whereof contained, that the churches should not be profaned, nor the inhabitants obliged to deliver up their children to be made janizaries; that they should be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion; that the people should be exempt from taxes for five years; that all who pleased to go out of the island should have leave to do so; that if the grand master and the knights should not have vessels enough to transport them to Candia, they should be furnished with them by the Turks; that they should be allowed twelve days, reckoning from that of signing the treaty, to put their effects on board; that they might carry away the relics of the saints, the consecrated vessels of the church of St. John, the ornaments, their moveables, their records and writings, and all the cannon that they used to employ on board their galleys: that all the forts of the isle of Rhodes, and the other isles belonging to the order, and that of the castle of St. Peter, should be delivered up to the Turks; that in order to facilitate the execution of this treaty, the Turkish army should remove to some miles distance; that whilst it lay at that distance, the sul-



tan should send four thousand janizaries, under the command of their aga, to take possession of the place; and that the grand master, as a security of his word, should give twenty-five knights in hostage, among which were to be two grand crosses, with twenty-five of the principal burgesses of the town. This treaty being signed by the ambassador and deputies on one side, and by general Achmet in the sultan's name, and ratified by the grand master and the lords of the council, the hostages repaired to the camp, and the aga of the janizaries entered at the same time into the town, with a company of his soldiers, and took possession of it.

Whilst they were employed on both sides in executing the treaty, they saw a numerous fleet, standing in for the island full sail, and with a favourable wind. The Turks, who were always uneasy on account of the succours that the Christians had so long expected, made no question but they were ships of the princes of the West coming to raise the siege. They immediately ran to arms. Solyman and his generals were in great pain; but the fleet drawing near the coast, they discovered the crescent in their flags; and, after the troops on board the fleet were landed, they found that they came from the frontiers of Persia; and that Solyman, seeing his soldiers disheartened by so many unsuccessful attacks, had, in hopes that fresh troops might behave themselves with more ardour in the assaults, sent orders to Ferhat basha, to bring them with the utmost diligence. It is to be presumed, that if these fresh troops had landed sooner, the knights would not have made so honourable a composition with the sultan; but, as they had begun to execute the capitulation, Solyman would not

make any advantage of this succour, nor fail in the performance of his word.

Two days after the treaty was signed, general Achmet had a conference with the grand master in the ditch of the post of Spain; and, after several discourses had passed between them, in relation to the attack and defence of Rhodes, he told him, that the grand seignior was desirous to see him; and insinuated to him, that he ought not to think of going away without taking leave of his conqueror, for fear he should provoke his anger. The grand master, being apprehensive that he would be incensed at the long resistance he had made to all his power, as well as on account of the prodigious number of soldiers which that prince had lost at the siege, was not very willing to deliver himself up into his hands; but as, on the other side, he was afraid of furnishing him, by a refusal, with a pretence, which, perhaps, he wished to find, of not keeping his word, this great man, who had, during the siege, exposed himself to the greatest dangers, got over all considerations, and resolved to sacrifice himself once more for the safety of his brethren. He came early the next morning to the entrance of the sultan's tent. The Turks, out of pride, and a barbarous kind of grandeur, suffered him to wait there almost the whole day, without offering him any thing to eat or drink, exposed to the severe cold, to snow and hail, which fell in abundance. When the evening was drawing on, he was called in, and clothing him and the knights that attended him with magnificent vests, they introduced him to an audience of the sultan. That prince was struck with the majesty that appeared in the air and over the person of the grand master, and told him by his interpre-

ter, by way of consolation, " That the conquest or loss of empires were the ordinary sports of fortune." He added, in order to engage so great a captain in his service, that he had just seen, by woful experience, the little dependance that was to be placed on the amity and alliance of the Christian princes, who had so scandalously abandoned him; and that, if he was willing to embrace his law, there was no post or dignity, in the whole extent of his empire, but he was ready to gratify him with. The grand master, who was as zealous a Christian as he was a great captain, after thanking him for the good will he expressed towards him, replied, that he should be very unworthy of his favours, if he were capable of accepting them: that so great a prince would be dishonored by the services of a traitor and renegado; and that all he requested of Solyman was, that he would be pleased to order his officers not to give him any disturbance in his departure and embarkation. Solyman signified to him, that he might proceed with it quietly; that his word was inviolable; and, as a token of friendship, though perhaps out of ostentation, he gave him his hand to kiss.

In breach, however, of the treaty, and the positive promises of the grand seignior, five days after the capitulation was signed, some janizaries, under pretence of visiting their comrades, who with their aga had taken possession of the place, dispersed themselves over it, plundered the first houses they came to near the gate of Cosquin, broke into the churches which they profaned, and ransacked the very tombs of the grand masters, where their avarice made them fancy they should find treasure: from thence they ran, like so many furies, to the infirmary, that celebrated monument of the charity

of the knights, drove out the sick, and carried off the plate, in which they were served; and would have carried their violence still further, had not general Achmet, who knew the grand seignior's intentions, upon the grand master's complaints, sent word to the aga, that his head should answer for the plunder and extravagance of his soldiers. Indeed the grand seignior, who was fond of glory, and jealous of his reputation, was desirous that the knights, when they retired into the various states of Christendom, should, with the news of the conquest of Rhodes, carry with them the reputation of his clemency, and his inviolable observance of his word: and this, perhaps, might be the motive that engaged him, when he visited his new conquest, to enter into the grand master's palace.

This prince received him with all the marks of respect due to so potent a monarch. Solyman, in this visit, so very extraordinary in a grand seignior, accosted him in an affable manner, exhorted him to bear courageously this change of fortune, and signified to him, by Achmet, who attended him, that he might take his own time to embark his effects, and that if the time stipulated was not sufficient, he would readily prolong it. He retired upon this, after repeating his assurances to the grand master, of an inviolable fidelity in the execution of the capitulation; and, turning towards his general, as he went out of the palace, he said, "I cannot help being concerned, that I force this Christian at his age to go out of his house."

The grand master was obliged to quit it even before the term agreed on was expired; for being informed, that the sultan was preparing to set out in two days for Constantinople; he did not think it

proper to stay in the island, exposed to the mercy of the officers that were to command there, who might, perhaps, in the grand seignior's absence, value themselves on giving such explications to the treaty as suited their hatred and animosity against the knights. So that, not thinking it safe to stay any longer among barbarians, that were not over scrupulous with regard to the law of nations, he ordered the knights, and such as would follow the fortune of the order, to carry immediately their most valuable effects on board the vessels.

This dismal embarkation was made in the night, with a precipitation and disorder that can hardly be described. Nothing could be more distressing, than to see the poor citizens loaded with their goods, and followed by their families, abandoning their country. There were heard on all sides, a confused noise of children crying, of women bemoaning, of men cursing their ill fortune, and of seamen calling out after them all. The grand master alone wisely dissembled his grief; the sentiments of his heart were not betrayed by his looks; and in this confusion he gave his orders with the same tranquillity as if he had been only sending a squadron of the order to cruize.

The grand master, besides the knights, put on board above four thousand inhabitants of the island, men, women, and children, who not caring to stay under the dominion of the infidels, resolved to follow the fortune of the order, and abandon their country.

Prince Amurath, son to the unfortunate Zizim, would gladly have followed the grand master, and had agreed with him to come on board with all his family; but Solyman resolving to get him into his

power, caused him to be watched so narrowly, that in spite of all the disguises he put on, he could never get near the fleet, but was forced to hide himself in the ruins of some houses which the Turkish cannon had demolished. The grand master not being able to save him, took leave of the grand seignior, and was the last man that went on board his vessel. The first day of January, 1523, all the fleet, after his example, made ready for sailing; and the few knights that survived this long and bloody siege, were reduced to the dismal necessity of quitting the isle of Rhodes, and the places and other islands that depended on the order, and in which the knights of St. John of Jerusalem had maintained themselves with so much glory for near two hundred and twenty years.

## BOOK IX.

WHILE the happy Solyman was triumphing in the calamity of the knights of Rhodes, and that prince, who never valued the loss of his soldiers, was rejoicing for a conquest that contributed so much to the glory of his arms, the grand master, before he sailed out of the port of Rhodes, pursuant to the treaty which he had just made with the sultan, dispatched some brigantines, feluccas, and transports, to the commander d'Airasque, governor of the castle of St. Peter, and to Perin du Pont, bailiff of Lango, with orders to abandon the several places where they commanded, and make an immediate embarkation of all the knights that were in their governments, and of all such of the inhabitants subject to the order as should be willing to

follow them, and to repair with all possible expedition to the isle of Candia, where he proposed to stop for some time to wait their coming up, and receive prince Amurath, son to Zizim, if he should be able to make his escape, with such inhabitants of the isle of Rhodes as could not, by reason of his precipitate departure, embark at the same time with him: That prince after this set sail, attended by all his knights, and followed by a great number of Rhodian families. His fleet made up fifty sail, consisting of galleys, galliots, brigantines, and feluccas of different bulk: he himself went on board the great carrack, taking with him the principal commanders, and particularly those knights who were sick and wounded; and it may be said, that this great vessel, by carrying them, carried the whole fortune of the order.

It would be difficult to draw in proper colours the affliction of the inhabitants of the isle of Rhodes, when they saw themselves forced to abandon their estates, their houses, and their country. As long as this little fleet kept within a sufficient distance, they had all of them their eyes fixed upon the island; but as soon as they lost sight of it, their grief burst out in cries and tears; which however was but the beginning of their sorrows.

After some days sailing, they were surprised by a violent storm, which dispersed this little fleet among the islands of the Archipelago. The galleys especially were in great distress for want of a sufficient number of slaves and rowers. Solyman had, before the grand master's departure, taken from thence all the slaves who were either his subjects or of his religion; and the Christians, who had voluntarily supplied their places, being very unequal to that

employment, were rather an incumbrance to the service than of any advantage to it. Several ships lost their masts, by the violence of the storm, and others that were overladen foundered. The poor Rhodians, to guard against such like accidents, threw their bales and effects over board; at last, after struggling against the fury of the storm for three days and nights together, the wind abated, the waves subsided, hope began to revive in their hearts, and the ships that were scattered, arrived one after another in different ports or bays of the island of Candia.

The grand master, who was on board the great carrack, stopped in sight, and came to an anchor in the road of the town of Setia; others put at first into the ports of Spina Longa. As there were not any two vessels of the fleet that kept together, they arrived one after another. They owed indeed their preservation to this dispersion, and if they had not been separated by the violence of the winds, they would infallibly have fallen foul upon one another, and the bulging of a ship would have been as fatal as the striking against a rock.

All the little vessels, from the several places where they had put in for shelter, came up at last and joined the grand master. There arrived too about the same time the commander d'Airasque, the bailiff of Lango, all the knights under their command, and the greatest part of the inhabitants of the islands and fortresses of the order, who chose to follow the fortune of their sovereigns, rather than stay behind under the government of the Turks. When all this multitude was landed, the grand master made a general review, and the total amount of all, including men, women, and children, came



to near five thousand. But having so lately undergone the fatigue of a terrible storm, they were most of them sick, faint and low spirited; all of them were unprovided either of provisions or means of subsistence; and some, whose baggage had been thrown over board, were left naked and utterly destitute of linen.

The grand master, who had supported the loss of his dominions with so much resolution, could not refrain from tears at the sight of so forlorn a people. He was at the expense of procuring from the neighbouring towns, provisions, stuffs, and even linen, to new clothe such as wanted them. And at the same time enforcing these real and substantial supplies with discourses full of a spirit of charity, he assured them, that the order would always give them a share in their possessions and estates, to which, he told them, the poor had always the first claim. The people, in the fulness of their heart, made no other reply to such tender and moving sentiments, than by offering up their vows for the long continuance of so beneficent a life: every one ran to kiss his hand; they all called him their father, and a name so dear to generous souls gave this great man a more sensible pleasure, than the title of lord and prince that was due to his dignity.

He was no sooner landed near Setia, but he sent advice of it to the governor and regency of the island. The governor immediately dispatched the noble Pauli Justiani, to offer him all the succours that he might stand in need of, and invite him to come with all his people to the capital city, where they would find great plenty of provisions. The grand master, though no way pleased with these republicans, made no scruple to go thither. The

governor, attended by the noble Dominico Treviano, general of the galleys of the republic, the magistrates and principal persons of the island, came to receive him at his landing; they saluted, with great demonstrations of their concern at the loss of Rhodes; but so very unseasonably, that the grand master, in a private conversation which he had afterwards with the general of the galleys, could not forbear reflecting on the timorous policy of the senate, who, though they had above sixty galleys in the port of Candia, had yet stood still as mere lookers on, whilst Rhodes was falling into the hands of the infidels, without vouchsafing to throw the least succour into the place.

The Venetian general could make no other reply to complaints that were so well founded, but by receiving them with a silence full of confusion; but to wave all explications on so disagreeable a subject, he invited him to stay in the island, till the winter, and the severity of the season, should be over. But the grand master, full of the highest resentment at the insensibility which the Venetians had manifested, in remaining passive spectators of the loss of Rhodes, told him, that, as soon as he could refit his ships, which had suffered in the storm, he should continue his course; and that his design was to go immediately into Italy, to consult with the pope about a place where it should be proper to fix the great convent, and settle the residence of the order.

Whilst he was labouring with the utmost application to repair his ships, Leonard Balestrin, the Latin metropolitan of Rhodes, arrived in Candia with his clergy, and several of the inhabitants. Solyman had obliged them to leave the place, under

pretence that they were neither Rhodians nor Greeks, and that he would not suffer any Latins within his dominions. The grand master, who had the highest esteem for the virtue of that prelate, received him very courteously, assigned him a pension upon the treasury of the order; and the archbishop afterwards taking the habit of the order, he named him prior of the church, which was at that time the first ecclesiastical dignity of the order, and indeed the very next post after the grand master; and which, therefore, had a right of sitting in the council annexed to it.

Among the various events that happened after the grand master's departure, the archbishop told him, that the grand seignior had given such strict orders to search for the son of Zizim, that the unfortunate prince was soon discovered and brought before Solyman, with his four children, two boys, and as many girls; that the sultan, whose interest urged him in the strongest manner to destroy this family, and who yet carefully avoided the character of a cruel prince, in order to have a plausible pretence to get rid of him, asked him, as if he had known nothing of the matter, what religion he was of? that the prince answered him with great intrepidity, that he and his children were Christians; that Solyman, under pretence of punishing him for a pretended apostacy, had ordered him to be strangled with his two sons, and had caused them to be executed at the head of his army, in order to prevent any future malecontent or impostor from making use of their name, and raising an insurrection; and that after this cruel execution, the sultan had sent the two young princesses to Constantinople, to be shut up in the old seraglio.

The ships of the order being refitted, the grand master set sail about the beginning of March, and dispatched at the same time a light brigantine, to carry the several ambassadors which he sent to the pope and to most of the princes of Christendom, to acquaint them with the loss of Rhodes, and to complain of their having so universally abandoned him. This complaint was still more justly levelled against the pope than the other christian potentates: but that pontiff was entirely taken up with the affairs and interest of the emperor, and managed them with as much application as if he had still been that prince's minister. It would be impossible to relate all the reflections with which the world arraigned his conduct on this occasion: they publicly exclaimed against the little zeal he had shewn for the relief of Rhodes: and the very day that the city was surrendered to Solyman, part of the architrave of that pope's chapel falling down the very moment that he was going into it, and that piece of marble dashing out the brains of one of his guards that went before him, the people, who are very ready to interpret the intentions of heaven, did not fail upon this accident to look upon it as a judgment for his remissness, and a plain indication of the wrath of God.

The grand master was very sensible of the great weight and influence that this pontiff's recommendation, and especially his example, would have had for the saving of Rhodes; but as he saw plainly, that he should have occasion for the pope's authority to support his own, he ordered his ambassador to explain himself in modest terms upon the want of such military succours, in order to gain him the more readily to grant him one of another nature,

which was no less necessary for him in the present juncture. This prince, in losing Rhodes, had thereby lost, not only a powerful and sovereign dominion, but likewise the fixed and independent residence of the order, the great convent of it, the centre and bond as it were which united so considerable a number of knights of different nations in the same place, and in an immediate subjection to his authority. The fear of a general dispersion gave him a secret anxiety. He was not without apprehensions lest upon his arrival in Italy, most of the knights, finding themselves without any fixed and settled convent, should retire into their own countries. He was in the dark even as to a place where he might settle with his council, and the body of people that followed his fortune; and what made his uneasiness still greater was the want he stood in of a port for the exercise of his profession, and for the sending out his vessels to cruise. He was afraid he should scarce find any Christian prince who would give him a place or port within his territories in absolute property and dominion: and supposing there should be found one generous enough to afford him a place of refuge, he was still as uneasy for fear he should afterwards pretend to dispose of the forces of the order for his private interests; or if the order wanted a retreat, and was left without that common band of concord, that the knights would disperse and retire into their several countries, which would exceedingly weaken the discipline of the order, and end at last in its destruction and ruin. Full of these melancholy considerations, he wrote about it to the pope; and ordered his ambassador to get a bull from him, directed to all the knights of the order, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, and be-

ing degraded of their knighthood, to submit to the orders of the grand master and the council, in what place soever he should think proper to fix his own residence, and that of the council.

The ambassador upon his arrival at Rome gave the pope an account of all that had passed in the defence of Rhodes: and pursuant to his instructions represented to him the melancholy situation of the order, and the just apprehensions which the grand master had of a dispersion, which would be still of more fatal consequence than even the loss of Rhodes. The pope complied with the grand master's request; and in order to retain all the knights under his obedience, granted him a bull, wherein after extolling with just eulogiums the zeal and valour which the knights had shown against the infidels, he commanded them, in virtue of their holy obedience, to continue in a body under the grand master's authority, and threatened such as should prove refractory with all the censures of the church. The bull being issued out, the ambassador sent it to the prior of Messina, to deliver it to the grand master, who, pursuant to his scheme, was to arrive soon in the port of that city.

He had indeed set sail from the port of Candia: but he had only been a few days at sea, when contrary winds obliged him to put in at Fraski, another port in the same island: from thence he went to that of Cerigo, formerly called Cytherea, and consecrated to Venus, which is not above five miles from the main land of the Morea. The wind appearing favourable, the two carracks and the large ships, sailed before by his orders, under the conduct of Auston, commander of the language of England, kept out to sea, and arrived happily in the port of

Messina. But the grand master, resolving not to quit the people of Rhodes, who were most of them sick, set out a long time afterwards, went on board a galley, and with a galliot, the brigantines, feluccas, and smaller vessels, with all that crowd of people on board, coasted it, as being less dangerous, along the shore, with extreme difficulties, entered the Adriatic gulf, and arrived at last at the port of Gallipoli, a town of the kingdom of Naples, in the gulph of Otranto.

The great number of sick that were on board the fleet obliged him to stop for some time at this place. Whilst he was taken up with providing for their relief, the knights, who were gone before him in the great ships of the order, arrived at Messina, where they found a great number of knights of different nations, who had rendezvoused there with the succours, which they were in hopes of carrying to Rhodes. All these knights were under great uneasiness upon their receiving no news of the grand master: some were afraid, that the galleys and small vessels were lost in the stormy weather that had happened, and the bad season which they put to sea in; others were apprehensive, that the corsairs of Barbary, which roved over those seas, might have had advice of the grand master's departure, and the riches which he carried with him, and might have joined together to attack him; and that that little fleet, which was but ill provided, might have fallen into the hands of those barbarians. Their apprehensions were the better grounded, in that Solymán having obliged the grand master before his departure to release all the slaves that were either born his subjects or professed his religion, there was not a galley that had half the crew necessary to row it,

It was indeed this want of men, as much as the severity of the season, which had occasioned the grand master's wandering so long in those seas. In fine, he came about the beginning of May with his little fleet into the port of Messina. Instead of the usual flag of the order, he hoisted on the top of the mast of the vessel that he was on board of, a standard or banner, on which was represented the blessed virgin, holding her dead son in her arms, with this motto, *In the extremity of my afflictions, he is my only hope*: AFFLICTIS SPES MEA REBUS. Pignatelli count of Monteleone, viceroy of Sicily, the archbishop of Messina, Fabritio Pignatelli brother to the viceroy, and prior of Barletto, Charles Jesvatre, prior of St. Stephens, the prior of Messina, the commanders and whole body of the knights, the nobility, gentry, people, and all the city in a manner came out, and were present at the grand master's landing. The whole multitude had their eyes fixed on the venerable old man, whose constancy and resolution made him as illustrious under his misfortunes, as his bravery in the defence of Rhodes had made him glorious.

After the viceroy had made him his compliment, and offered him in the emperor's name the town of Messina, to serve him for a retreat, and for a place of refreshment to his fleet, the archbishop and all the grandees of the kingdom, the gentry and people, by a solemn silence, very suitable to his ill fortune, expressed how much they sympathised with him in it. But who could express the real grief which all the knights felt for the loss of Rhodes, the remembrance of which was renewed by his arrival? Such as were standing upon the port, as well as those that landed, unable to speak a word, could only



communicate their common affliction by tender embraces: some tears stole from those that had the most resolution, notwithstanding their endeavours not to shed one. L'Isle-Adam alone, always superior to his calamity, discovered plainly by his resolution, that he was worthy of a better fortune. He walked towards the prior's palace, preceded by all the knights bare-headed, who kept a mournful silence, and discovered by these demonstrations of respect, that though he lost his territories, he yet had not lost any thing of his authority over a body of nobility and gentry, who in happier times would be able to conquer a new island of Rhodes.

The grand master's first care after his landing, was to provide lodgings in his own palace, and the houses adjoining, for the knights that were sick and wounded: he waited on them himself, assisted by the knights that were left unhurt. It was indeed a very moving sight, to see these men, who used to appear so terrible with their weapons in their hands, now animated only by a spirit of charity, devote themselves to the meanest services, carry broth to the sick, make their beds, and show a disregard to every thing but what might contribute to their relief and recovery.

From these charitable offices, so agreeable to the first institution of the order, the grand master, still inconsolable for the loss of Rhodes, passed to a severe inquisition and inquiry against those who were employed to carry succours thither: he ordered them to be cited before a full council, to give an account of their delay, and protested publicly, that he would without respect of persons, punish according to law, as traitors and deserters, all such as should be convicted of remissness and negligence in

the execution of those orders which had been prescribed them.

All those that were cited, and particularly pointed at by these menaces, presented themselves before that tribunal with a confidence which truth and innocence alone can inspire. The priors of Barletto and St. Stephens were the first that appeared, who represented, that besides a prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions which they had prepared, pursuant to the grand master's orders, they had likewise voluntarily, and at their own expense listed two thousand old soldiers, and engaged a considerable body of volunteers and young noblemen to go to Rhodes; but that for the two last months the winds had held so perpetually contrary, and the weather had been so tempestuous, that nobody had been imprudently bold enough to put to sea; and that it was well enough known, that the chevalier de Nieuport, of the language of England, an old sea captain, who buoyed himself up with the hopes of mastering the waves by his skill, going on board at that time, was driven back by the violence of the wind against the point of a desert promontory, where his ship with all his crew were lost.

Antonio di San Martino, prior of Catalonia, represented on his side to the council, that at the first news of the siege, he had fitted out a galliot at his own expense, and went on board it at the head of the knights of Arragon, Navarre, Valentia and Majorca, to go to the relief of Rhodes; that they were attacked near the island of Cosica, by a squadron of the grand seignior's galleys, which plyed him with their cannon shot, and coming up close with him, threw showers of grenadoes and fire-pots without ceasing into his ship; that they made

several attempts to board him, and were so often repulsed; that after an engagement of six hours, they prepared to burn him with a fire-ship, but a fresh gale of wind springing up in the night, he made shift to save his vessel, which was terribly torn with the cannon shot, and got to the port of San Bonifacio in the isle of Sardinia, from whence with great difficulty and danger he had made his way to Messina.

The chevalier d'Albi, son to the duke of that name, setting sail from Carthagenæ with the knights of Castile and Portugal, had much the same fate. He was invested by a squadron of Algerine corsairs, who poured in their broad-sides upon him from every quarter. His main-mast was shot by the board, his sails and rigging torn to pieces, he received several shot between wind and water, without being brought to strike, and was resolved to blow up the ship, rather than let the flag of the order fall into the hands of the infidels. By good fortune with his last broad-side he sunk the admiral of the corsairs: and the barbarians launching out all their long-boats, to save their general and the soldiers that were on board with him, the Spanish captain improving the little interval which that advantage afforded him, made off, and got to the isle of Busa or Ivica, one of the Balears, where he repaired his sails and rigging, but could not get from thence to the port of Messina till the beginning of December. The knights of Tuscany and Lombardy represented, in their turn, that they were to have embarked in some ships, which the commander de Tournebon, prior of Pisa, and of an illustrious family in Florence, had hired upon his own credit; but that knight, who was to fit them out at his own expence, hap-

pening to die suddenly, they were left unprovided of the necessary funds to go on with that armament; that, indeed, they had applied to the receivers of Pisa, Venice and Lombardy, but they were so long in raising the money necessary to defray the charges of this equipment, that they could not help being the last who arrived in the port of Messina.

In fine, the chevalier d'Aussonville, or de Villiers, who had been sent ambassador to the kings of France and England, declared, that on his arrival at the court of Francis I. he had represented to him, in the warmest manner, the pressing need that Rhodes had of his succour; to which that gallant prince replied, that though he was attacked on all sides by the sea and land forces of the emperor and the king of England, yet he would send orders forthwith to Andrew Doria, then general of his galleys, to supply him with three of those that were the best provided, and that he also might take up in his dominions what provisions and ammunition he had occasion for: that continuing his road afterwards towards London, to wait on Henry VIII., he had met that prince at Calais, who received him coldly, and that he could not get from him the least encouragement that might give him room to hope for succours: that he returned thereupon to Marseilles; and Doria, pursuant to the king's orders, delivered him three galleys, viz. the Ferrara, la Trimouille, and the Doria, in which above three hundred knights of the three languages of France embarked, carrying with them eight hundred men, all gallant soldiers and warriors: that he had, with the money of the order, freighted three merchant ships, which he found in the port of Marseilles, and after loading them with ammunition and provisions, set sail

for Messina, the place of rendezvous; but a terrible storm, which had been at the same time so fatal to other vessels of the order, had dispersed this little fleet: that, in all likelihood, the transport vessels had foundered; that the Ferrara galley was likewise lost; that the Doria had stranded on the coast of Sardinia; and that none but the Trimouille had arrived safe in the port of Messina.

All these facts being clearly proved by the concurrent testimony and oaths of the knights, as well as of the crews of those vessels, "God be for ever praised," cried the grand master, "who, in our common misfortune has given me the satisfaction of knowing, that no one can ascribe the cause of it to the negligence of any of my brethren of the order." Then calling about him the priors and grand crosses, who had been brought before the council of war, he embraced them in a very affectionate manner: "It was necessary," said he to them, "for the honour of the order, as well as for your own, that I should make this examination, which will justify to all princes living, as well as to the latest posterity, that if Rhodes could have been saved by the single forces of the order, that bulwark of Christendom had not now been in the hands of the infidels."

However just these reasons might be, yet they did not allay the secret resentment of the knights, on account of the informations and criminal prosecution carried on against them by the grand master. Most of them designed to retire immediately to their priories and commandries; and several private knights, after their example, who had nothing to live upon, resolved to return to their respective countries, and try to mend their circumstances at the courts of their sovereigns.

The grand master, getting notice of this kind of conspiracy, called a general assembly of all the knights that were at Messina, in which he caused the pope's brief to be read, which had been delivered to him by the prior of Messina; it contained a prohibition to all the knights, under severe penalties, to leave the grand master without first obtaining his permission. He afterwards told them, that, since the loss of Rhodes, they alone might be said to form the representative body of the order; and, if they did not keep together in this melancholy juncture, the order would insensibly dwindle, and, perhaps, be at last slighted by the sovereign princes of Christendom. He added, that, after having exposed their lives so often on various occasions against the infidels, particularly in the defence of Rhodes, he mightly justly expect, from the obedience they had vowed at the altar, that they would, before their separation, practise the patience necessary to procure them a settlement, that might repair their loss, and which might be declared the head convent of the order, and the residence of all the knights.

He introduced very moving exhortations in this discourse, which, with his representation of the pope's orders, and the influence of his own authority, brought them to temper, and appeased the discontented. All their thoughts were now taken up in finding out a port where the order, agreeable to its institution, might continue the succours it had given, for so many ages, to the Christians that sailed in those seas.

The grand master's design was, to go himself immediately to Rome, to confer about it with the pope; but this great man was not yet at the end of his troubles and fatigues. A dreadful plague broke

out at Messina; when, in order to avoid the contagion, he caused his knights, the wounded as well as the healthy, and all the Rhodians that had followed him, to re-embark. This new embarkation was made with as much precipitation as that from Rhodes: they were to avoid an enemy much more terrible than the Turks; but, in spite of this precaution, the plague got into the vessels of the order: several knights died of it, and, among others, Gregory de Morgut, grand prior of Navarre, who had signalized himself at the siege of Rhodes, and the chevaliers de St. Martin Grimault and Avogadre. The grand master, alike unfortunate by sea and land, and carrying, as it were, his enemy about him in his bosom, resolved, in order to the recovery of the sick, to go in search of a more healthy situation; and, having obtained leave from the viceroy of Naples, he landed his colony in the gulf of Baiæ. After taking a view of the country, he marked out a camp near the ruins of the old town of Cumæ; here, by his orders, they built cabins and barracks for lodging the knights and Rhodians; and, to prevent being surprised by the corsairs of Barbary, who roved all along those coasts, he made broad ditches and intrenchments about his little camp, fortifying them with palisades and artillery, which he took out of his ships. This change of air was followed with immediate success; most of the sick recovered; and, after a month's stay in that mild and temperate climate, the grand master, being impatient to confer with the pope about a proper place for the settlement of his order, after giving him advice of his setting out, re-embarked with his colony, and arrived a few days afterwards at Civita Vecchia. He immediately dispatched the chevalier

de Cheviere to Rome, to compliment the pope in his name, and, at the same time, to desire an audience of him, concerning the dismal revolution which had just happened in his order. The holy father dispatched the bishop of Cuença, a Spanish prelate, of his own family, to congratulate him on his safe arrival in his territories: but, instead of gratifying his eagerness, he let him know by the bishop, that he could not advise him, by any means, to go upon his journey so soon, especially in the dog-days: that he should have patience, and continue with his colony at Civita Vecchia; and that, after some time, he would acquaint him with the day when he could give him audience: a pretence which the pontiff made use of, to prevent the grand master being witness of a declaration of war, which he was going to publish in great form against France.

To understand rightly this point of history, we must observe, that Adrian, as soon as he was seated in St. Peter's chair, had, agreeably to the example of his predecessors, notified it to the grand master, and declared expressly in the same brief, that nothing made that new dignity agreeable to him, but the desire he had of employing all the credit it gave him with the Christian princes, to unite them in a holy league against the infidels: a protestation which he afterwards renewed in all his letters. But as if this declaration had been but a mere apostolical form of words, instead of forming a crusade against the Turks, he had just concluded a league between himself, the emperor, the king of England, and the duke of Milan, by which they were to attack the dominions of his Most Christian majesty, while the constable de Bourbon, under pretence of a private



grievance, was to raise an insurrection within the kingdom. The league being signed, the pope went to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore the day of the Assumption; he there said mass pontifically, assisted by all the sacred college, and afterwards published, with great solemnity, a declaration of war against France. Most of the cardinals were of opinion, that the pope ought not to quit the character of the common father of the faithful; and several of them represented to him, that he should reserve to himself the part of acting as mediator between the emperor and the king of France: but his passion for the house of Austria made him deaf to such reasonable advice; and the pope, though otherwise a very good and disinterested man, devoted himself blindly to the ambition of a prince, who intended to invade France. This plainly shows, that private virtues do not sufficiently qualify a man for government, and that great places must be filled up with great qualities and great talents. But whether God had a mind to punish the pontiff in this world, for that spirit of party which prevailed in him, or, which is more probable, the length of the ceremony had fatigued him too much, he was not able to go to a great entertainment which cardinal Pompeo Colonna gave, when church was over, to all the sacred college, and the ambassadors of the princes that had engaged in the league. An ague seized him as he returned to his palace; he was afflicted with it above a fortnight, so that it was only about the twenty-fifth of the same month, during an interval which his distemper gave him, that he notified to the grand master his being ready to receive him at Rome, and give him audience.

The grand master set out immediately, attended

by all his knights, A. D. 1523. Anne de Montmorency, marshal of France, his great nephew, was then at Rome. The king, his master, had sent him thither; either because he was not yet acquainted with the step the pope had taken, or else in order to engage him to quit the league. This French nobleman came to meet his uncle with a magnificent train, and went a considerable distance from Rome to receive him; and, when the grand master drew near that capital of the Christian world, he was met by the auditor of the pope's chamber, the steward of his household, and the first prelates of his family, who came to compliment him in his name. They were followed by the light horse and Swiss guards of the pontiff, and these by the families and equipages of the cardinals; the duke of Sessa, the emperor's ambassador, met him at the field of Flora, and accompanied him to the palace. The grand master, as he passed over the bridge of St. Angelo, and in the piazza di San Pietro, was saluted several times by all the artillery of the city and castle. The nobility, gentry, and people in general, crowded to see this great man, who had filled not only Rome, but also the whole world, with his reputation, and the valour he had manifested in the siege of Rhodes. With this numerous and magnificent retinue, he entered the pope's palace and apartment. The pontiff, though much weakened by his illness, when he saw him enter his chamber, rose from his chair, and advanced several steps to meet him: when the grand master prostrating himself to kiss his feet, he embraced him with great tenderness. He made him afterwards sit down in the midst of the cardinals who were present at the audience: and, after having said several obliging things about the great

ness of his courage, and the valour of his knights, he assured him, that he would not omit any thing that could be done, to preserve an order so useful to all Christendom. He then took leave of him, calling him the hero of the Christian religion, and the brave defender of the faith; titles which he justly deserved, but which put the pope to much less expence than the succours would have done, for which they had so often applied to him, but always to no purpose.

The grand master never saw him after; the pope relapsed, and the fever was so violent, that perceiving himself near his end, he sent for the holy viaticum: and, calling all the cardinals into his chamber, he exhorted them, in the most moving terms, and with great humility, to choose one for his successor, who would redress the faults he might have committed in the government of the church. He died on the 14th of September, 1523, being sixty-four years of age.

As soon as his funeral was over, the cardinals, who were in number thirty-six, shut themselves up in the conclave, and were soon after increased to thirty-nine. The grand master and his knights were entrusted with the guard of the conclave. Among the several aspirers to the papacy, Pompeo Colonna and Julio de Medicis seemed to have the fairest pretensions. The illustrious birth and riches of Colonna, his splendid and expensive manner of living, his great liberalities, and his genius, so proper for the management of an intrigue, had procured him a great number of partisans among the cardinals; and he had been subtle enough to persuade them, that they would all make their private fortunes by contributing to his promotion. Moreover, his strict

attachment to the emperor, an attachment that was hereditary in his family, secured him the cardinals of that prince's faction. It is said, that when he entered the conclave, he wanted only two votes to ratify his election: and he flattered himself, that he should gain them by his intrigues among the contrary party. Medicis however balanced these advantages by the remembrance of the late pope Leo X. his cousin-german, whose memory was still recent, and very dear to most of the cardinals, and those especially of his creation.

Julio de Medicis had always been deemed the natural son of Julian de Medicis, till the pontificate of Leo X. That pope, who had nothing so much at heart as the grandeur of his family, declared him to be legitimate, upon the deposition of his mother's brother, and the information of some monks, who certified, that there was a promise of marriage between his father and mother: a testimony, that looks a little suspicious in so delicate an affair. He entered at first into the order of the knights of Rhodes, and by the pope's credit he soon obtained rich commandries, and rose to the first dignities of it: but finding that nature had formed him better for court intrigues than for war, he took holy orders, and Leo X. created him cardinal in 1513. He afterwards made him legate of Bologna, and collated him to the archbishoprics of Florence, Ambrun and Narbonne, and the bishopric of Marseilles. That pontiff, who was desirous of making him the support of his family, loaded him with riches and preferments; but notwithstanding the supreme power he had in the church, his ambition was still unsatisfied. During his pontificate, Medicis, in quality of cardinal nephew, had a great share in

the government; and whilst Leo seemed entirely devoted to his pleasures, he seemed to support the whole weight of affairs on his own shoulders. It is, however, certain, that the pope had much greater views than his nephew, a better knowledge of his true interests, and a much greater constancy and resolution. It was he alone, who formed in secret, the schemes of all his enterprises; but in order to give the greater credit to the cardinal nephew, and probably out of laziness, he left the execution of them to him.

The cardinal disposed of the posts and dignities of the court; no promotion was made, but by his advice, and at his recommendation: he was a sort of a second pope; and, after the death of Adrian, he entered the conclave, followed by sixteen cardinals, all of them his uncle's creatures, who, before they went to a scrutiny, always received his orders how they should give their votes. Their design was to raise him to the pontificate: but the faction of Colonna threw an invincible obstacle in the way. The two competitors, in order to know what they had to rely upon, and to make trial of their strength, proposed each of them several cardinals of their party. Colonna put up Jacobaccio, a cardinal of shallow parts, but one who was closely attached to him. The party of Medicis immediately threw him out, and Colonna played the same game with regard to those that were named by Medicis. This dispute lasted several days, before either of them would yield to the other. The two parties, animated by their principals, pretended equally to the honour of creating them popes, or at least to have the sovereign pontiff taken only out of their faction. Notwithstanding the seeming calm, secret negotiations

were carried on with vigour: Colonnas and Medicis, either by themselves or their emissaries, were continually busy in getting over some votes, and making conquests in the opposite party; but the cardinals of each faction were so faithful to their principals, that there were no deserters on either side.

Cardinal de Medicis, as if he had lost all hopes of being pope himself, in order to over-reach Colonna, brought cardinal Ursini upon the stage; a person fitly qualified for the papacy, by reason of his great age, his learning, and especially his capacity in affairs of government; but he was of a family that bore a hereditary hatred to that of Colonna, as himself was a declared enemy to cardinal Colonna. All the cardinals of the faction of Medicis, by his direction, gave him one day their votes; upon this Colonna was as one who had been thunderstruck; he was sensible, that Ursini, besides the creatures of Medicis, had some particular friends in his own faction, which might perhaps quit his party to raise Ursini to the popedom. He was affrighted, and dreaded seeing the papal diadem on the head of a man of his capacity, who would probably employ all the authority of it to ruin his family. In the fear, therefore, of falling under his subjection, and in order to secure his being set aside, after having tried several expedients to no purpose, he was at last forced to declare in favour of the election of his rival; he offered to give him his own vote, and all the rest that were at his disposal. The two heads of the parties had a conference together, and entered into several negotiations, in which Colonna did not neglect his own interest. Medicis gave him a promise in writing

of the post of vice-chancellor of the church, and a grant of his own palace, which was one of the noblest buildings in Rome. Colonna, after taking all the security that could be given him, at the next scrutiny gave him his own vote, and procured him all the suffrages of his faction. By the union of these two parties, an end was put to all disputes; and after the conclave had held two months and four days, cardinal de Medicis was unanimously elected, on the 19th of November, 1523, and took the name of Clement VII.

Such cardinals as were the creatures of Leo X., and the people especially, who remembered with pleasure the grandeur and magnificence with which that pope had lived, made great rejoicings at the first news of his nephew's election. They said, that Rome must of necessity be happy under the pontificate of a prince, who had himself been witness to his uncle's great qualities, and also formed by him for government. But no one was more pleased with his promotion than the grand master and his knights: he was the first religious of the order that had been raised to the papacy, and in the unhappy condition the order was in, wandering about without a convent or fixed habitation, or without any port for their fleet, they looked upon the election of one of their knights as a particular act of Providence, which, by so distinguished a favour, was pleased to soften the anguish of their calamities. The loss of Rhodes began to sit lighter on the grand master, who imagined, that under the pontificate of a knight of his order, and by the assistance of his protection, he should soon find a proper place of retreat, and even a new territory, where, agreeable to their institution, and for the common advantage of the

Christian princes, the order might continue to send out their fleets as usual, against the infidels.

Nor was he deceived of his just expectation; for there never had been, since the foundation of the order, a pope that expressed so high an esteem, or showed so tender an affection to the knights of St. John. The grand master, after a cardinal had proclaimed the election of Clement VII., opened the conclave, and was the first that made his compliments to that pontiff, who made him public acknowledgments for the good order and exactness he had kept with regard to the conclave; and the clergy of St. Peter de Lateran coming in to carry the new pope to the church, whither he went, attended by all the cardinals, Sir Julian Ridolfi, prior of Capua, and ambassador of the order, went immediately before him, completely armed and finely mounted, carrying the great standard of the order; a function which this very pontiff had formerly exercised, in quality of knight of St. John, at the election of Leo X. his cousin.

No sooner was the pope freed of that numberless multitude of ceremonies, which are inseparable from an accession to the papacy, than, at the grand master's request, he gave him audience in full consistory. That prince had desired it, in order to lay before him an account of the siege of Rhodes, and set forth, in the first city of the Christian world, all that had passed in the defence of that place. The vice-chancellor of the order, who was the speaker on this occasion, related to them, how six hundred knights, that were shut up in Rhodes, had defended it completely, for six months, against two hundred thousand Turks that attacked it. He went on representing the thunder and continual fire of the



artillery, the ruin of the fortifications, the lodgment of the enemy under the walls, the frequent assaults, the continual engagements which the knights had day and night with the infidels; notwithstanding all which, they did not abandon the place till after they had lost almost all their brother companions, their soldiers, the bravest of the inhabitants, and till such time as the enemy had carried on their works to the very heart of the place, and that they had no ground left to intrench themselves and fight upon.

This relation excited the admiration and compassion of all the sacred college; several cardinals, at the recital of the death of so many knights, who had sacrificed their lives in the defence of Rhodes, could not refrain from tears; and the pope, in concert with all the consistory, in order to preserve an order and body of illustrious warriors, who were of such eminent service to Christendom, and provide for them till such time as they should meet with an island or port for continuing their military functions, assigned them Viterbo for their residence; a town seated about forty miles from Rome, in the patrimony of St. Peter; and permitted their ships and galleys to stay in the port of Civita Vecchia.

To this favour, the holy father added another, which indeed was very honourable both for the order and its head; and by a particular act, Jan. 15, 1524, ordered, that when he should go to chapel, the grand master should have the first place on the right hand of the throne, and that in all cavalcades he should march alone, immediately before his holiness: the pope would have this regulation inserted in the registers of the master of the ceremonies. The grand master, sensibly affected with these tes-

timonies of his good will, went, before he set out for Viterbo, to the palace, to return him thanks for them, and had afterwards several audiences of him, wherein he acquainted him with the various proposals made him in relation to a fixed settlement for his order, which might compensate for the loss of the isle of Rhodes. He told him, that during the vacancy of the holy see, various places on the continent had been mentioned to him, which he might have treated about; but that he had rejected the proposal, because the situation did not suit their institution, whose profession was to serve as convoys to those pilgrims who should embark out of devotion to visit the holy places, and for a guard at the same time to all such Christians as should go by sea: that Andrea Vendramino, an old religious of the order, and archbishop of Corfu, had advised him to cast his eyes upon the port of Suda in Candia, or upon the isle of Cerigo, which belonged to the republic of Venice: but that his holiness could not but be sensible how that commonwealth, like some women who are used to bear with every thing flowing from the violence and extravagance of their lovers, frequently dissembled the insults of the Turk, and through a fear of incurring his resentment, did not dare receive into their dominions a military order, which the grand seignior looked upon as his eternal enemy: that he had been likewise spoke to about the isle of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany; but the king of Spain and the prince of Piombino being masters of the principal places of the island, it did not suit either the dignity of the order, or the common good of Christendom, to have the grand master and supreme council of the order dependant on any particular prince. He added, that some

Spanish knights, who were of the greatest quality of that nation, probably in concert with the ministers that the emperor had in Italy, had proposed to him the islands of Malta and Goza, with the town of Tripoli on the coast of Africa, which belonged to that prince, in quality of king of Sicily. That this last proposal, on account of the various ports that were in the isle of Malta, was not disagreeable to him; but then the emperor had such subtle and secret views, that he was afraid lest this project, which seemed to be only owing to a pious motive, might at last produce some sort of subjection; and though they were to suppose that the emperor would make them an absolute conveyance, and grant them the isles of Malta and Goza in fee simple, yet they could not, without great reluctance, take into their hands the administration of so weak a place as Tripoli, which was surrounded on all sides with barbarians and infidels, so that the putting knights there in garrison, would be no other than sending them to the slaughter.

However, notwithstanding these considerations, which were not altogether without some foundation, the pope, after having maturely weighed these different proposals, resolved upon the last. But as he knew very well, that the emperor was no slave to his word, he, without explaining himself further to the grand master, advised him to take his measures in such a manner as not to be caught by any secret designs of his ministers, who might perhaps have no other view but to increase his master's subjects in the persons of the knights. L'Isle Adam, upon his arrival at Viterbo, sent an embassy to that prince. The ambassadors were, the prior of Castile, the chevalier de Martinengo, that excellent engineer, who

## THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

had acquired so much glory at the siege of Rhodes, and the commander Bosio, chaplain of the order, one who had distinguished himself by his skill in negotiations. These ambassadors upon their arrival at Madrid, where the emperor then was, applied to him in the name of the whole order, and desired him to be pleased to grant them the isles of Malta and Goza by an absolute feofment, free from all manner of subjection and dependence; and they made this proposal without mentioning Tripoli, pursuant to their instructions. The ambassadors did not fail to represent to him, that he, by a grant so suitable to the generosity of a great prince, would be the restorer, and as it were the second founder of an order, which had for many ages been dedicated to the defence of the Christians; and that the knights, by their settlement in those islands, would put a stop to the ravages of the corsairs of Barbary, and secure the isles of Sicily and Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, and all the coasts of Italy, from their incursions.

This was just what the emperor had in view; and his communicating this project to the grand master did not perhaps flow so much from a motive of generosity as from self-interest. Besides, the considerable expenses he was forced to be at in maintaining garrisons in those islands, and in Tripoli, which he, by that means would be eased of, he was of opinion, that the knights, who were the terror of the infidels, would keep them in awe by their valour; and that the squadrons of the order would serve for an invincible rampart against the enterprizes of the grand seignior, who, after the conquest of the isle of Rhodes, might perhaps be tempted to attack Sicily.

These several motives were more than sufficient to determine him to conclude the treaty : but this prince, who was the greatest politician of his age, and who frequently reaped greater advantages by his negotiations than he did even by his arms, told the ambassadors, that he was no way averse to the propositions which they were come to make him ; but that he yet could not resolve to alienate Malta and Goza, unless Tripoli was also comprehended in the same treaty. That he insisted likewise, that the body of the order should take an oath of fidelity to him in quality of its sovereign ; that a new creation should be made of a second bailiff of the language of Castile ; that, in the admiral's absence, none but a knight of the language of Italy should command the galleys : and, as he very much doubted whether the order would ever submit to take an oath of fealty to him, he added, that he had no intention of engaging himself to supply Malta with corn for the future. By this reservation he secured to himself an absolute dominion over the knights, who could never subsist without such a supply.

The prior of Castile and Martinengo stayed at the emperor's court, and Bosio, by agreement with them, returned to Italy, and came to Viterbo to the grand master, to whom he gave an account of the emperor's intentions. Had they come from any other sovereign, they would not have been so much as heard ; but most of the commandries of the order lying within the vast extent of that prince's dominions, they resolved to wait, and see if time would afford them any relief, and if the pope's good offices could produce any moderation of such hard conditions ; and in the mean while, to keep the negotiation still on foot, they prevailed with the em-

peror, before they gave him a decisive answer, to allow the order to send eight commissaries to Malta, Goza and Tripoli, viz. one of each language, to visit those places, and afterwards make their report of them to the council.

The grand master was the less eager to conclude the treaty, because he had a new project at that time on foot, which was much more glorious and advantageous for the order; and this was to recover Rhodes, and drive out the Turks. The proposer of this enterprise was Achmet Bassa, the very same that had contributed most to the taking of the place. The reader may have observed in the foregoing book, that Solyman, being displeased with Mustapha, who commanded under him at the siege of Rhodes, had turned him out of his post, and given it to Achmet: but, at the request of his sister, whom Mustapha had married, that prince had sent him into Egypt to command there in quality of Begler-bey. He had no better success in that government than he had at the siege of Rhodes: whether it was owing to his unskilfulness in the arts of government, or to his avarice, or that he tyrannized over that people, who had been lately brought into subjection to the Turkish empire, a general insurrection arose in the provinces, and a prodigious army of Arabians and Egyptians came to besiege him in Grand Cairo itself, whose inhabitants, from the same motive, held secret correspondence with the rebels.

Mustapha's wife, alarmed at the dangers to which both herself and her husband were exposed, had recourse to the grand seignior her brother. That prince, whose interest engaged him to stifle this rebellion immediately, sent Achmet into Egypt at the

head of a mighty army, to bring off his brother-in-law, and take the government of those great provinces in his stead.

The new general, in a little time, beat the rebels on several occasions. But after he had established the reputation of his valour, and the terror of his arms, he set himself to gain the malecontents by a conduct that was entirely the reverse of that of Mustapha. The taxes were, by his order, considerably diminished; and as he secretly aspired to make himself independent, and absolute master of the kingdom, he removed the Turkish officers who were odious to the Egyptians, filling their posts at the same time with noblemen of that nation; and, in order to gain a body of troops in his interest, that should be independent on any one but himself, he got together all the Mamalukes that were left in Egypt, and who, ever since the Turks subdued the country, had been dispersed up and down in the remotest provinces. He made them his guards, increased their usual pay; and then, being imposed on by their expressions of affection and attachment to him, which was not so much the result of his merit as his fortune, and fancying himself master of their hearts, because he was so of the country by his dignity, he was daring enough to assume openly the name and ornaments of a sovereign. As he did not question but Solyman, who was infinitely jealous of his authority, would send an army against him, he endeavoured to get support, and an alliance with the princes of Christendom. Accordingly he sent one of his partizans to the pope and the grand master, to propose to them a joint league against Solyman. This agent waited on them both, and presented his master's letters, wherein he assured them,

that if the knights came before Rhodes with a body of troops, they might depend, by the help of the intelligence which he had within the place, upon making themselves masters of it; or at least that one of his creatures, who commanded in the two towers of the port, should receive them there, upon the first sight of any order from him.

The grand master heard these proposals with more joy than he was willing to discover. He answered the envoy, that he could not engage in this enterprise without first communicating it to most of the princes of Christendom, but that the Begler-bey, his master, should soon hear from him; and then making him a considerable present, he dismissed him, and found a way to send him back safe into Egypt. While the grand master's thoughts were entirely taken up with this important project, the commander de la Roche Aimon was just landed, bringing at the same time some Rhodians along with him, who determined him entirely to attempt that enterprise.

In order to form a just idea of this point of history, we are to observe, that the grand master, notwithstanding all the misfortunes that had happened to his order, frequently sent vessels out a cruising, to keep the arms of the knights continually employed against the corsairs. One of these vessels, commanded by la Roche-Aimon, was met by some Rhodian merchants, who were sailing in the Mediterranean. They knew the flag of the order, and longing to pay their respects once again to one of their old masters, they came up with him, and went aboard the knight's vessel, who received them with reciprocal joy, and entertained them in a splendid manner. In the midst of the entertainment, the



Rhodians being in a place of freedom and security, made grievous complaints against the tyranny of the Turks, and regretted the loss of the equitable government of the knights; these expressions of their regret soon grew up to earnest wishes for the restoration of the order, and its recovering possession of their island. As these merchants were some of the principal inhabitants of Rhodes, he began to consult with them about the various methods that might be made use of in order to drive out the Turks, and found so much facility in it, that he engaged them to come with him into Italy; and landing at Civita Vecchia, he brought them to Viterbo, and presented them privately to the grand master, who received them with the utmost candour and civility.

These merchants, whom la Roche-Aimon had taken care to disguise, had a secret conference with the grand master, and represented to him, that the walls and fortifications of Rhodes were not yet repaired; that there was but a weak garrison in the place; and that the aga before mentioned, who commanded in the two towers of the port, had been a Christian, but had turned renegade purely out of weakness, and for fear of torments, who still retained a secret inclination for the religion of his ancestors; that he was, as far as his abilities would allow him, without prejudicing himself, a protector to all the Christians of the island, and that the people, as soon as they should see the standards of the order, would, provided they brought them arms, turn them with pleasure against their tyrants, and those who were enemies to their religion.

The grand master, like an able politician, was delighted to think, that for the better succeeding in his designs, he should have more than one intel-

ligence within the place. He exhorted the merchants to persevere in their good intentions for the order; and after bestowing the greatest civilities upon them, and loading them with presents, he caused them to be conducted back with the same secrecy that they came, to the place where their ship waited for them.

That prince, in concert with the pope, sent afterwards the commander Bosio, who was very skilful in negociations, over to Rhodes. He got into the city disguised like a merchant, and was an eye witness to the condition of the place, the strength of the garrison, and the disposition, as well as the number of Greek inhabitants that were left. He made a still greater progress in his negociation, and talked with the aga, by the assistance of the Greek metropolitan, who was that officer's friend. Before he came to this interview, he had taken the precaution to fill one of the blank signatures, which the grand master had confided to him, with a letter for the aga, in which he offered him great rewards, provided he would make good what Achmet had promised in his name; and at the same time showed him the letter which the Begler-bey had written concerning him, and the two towers of Rhodes. The aga, after having stood some time without returning Bosio any answer, made a resolution at once, and told him, that he had been long wishing for an opportunity of returning into the bosom of the church, and gave his word to the grand master's agent, that he would receive the knights into the towns where he commanded, provided that besides the troops necessary to defend them, and form the siege of the city, they would immediately send a quantity of victuals, provisions and ammunition, with arms

for the inhabitants of the island. Every thing seemed to bid fair for the success of this enterprise, when news came, that the grand seignior had defeated Achmet's designs, and got him dispatched. That prince, upon advice of his rebellion, had sent a mighty army against him, under the conduct of his favourite Ibrahim, a native of Albania, and who was both a skilful general and an artful courtier.

Achmet had flattered himself, that the enterprise of Rhodes would cause a powerful diversion in his favour; but the unhappy revolution that happened in the affairs of the knights, prevented their making any attempts, so that Ibrahim's entering Egypt, caused a general consternation among the partisans of Achmet. Nevertheless, like a man of courage, he began to make preparations to carry on the war. He sent orders into all parts for the troops to march out of the most distant provinces to join him: but little deference was paid to his orders: an usurper's authority is never fixed with any solidity in the beginning of a change of government. Several of his principal commanders, under different pretences, kept off declaring openly against their lawful sovereign. Ibrahim, hearing that things were in this disposition, promised them a full and general pardon, and even rewards, provided they would dispatch the rebel. These traitors stifled him in the bath, opened the gates of Grand Cairo to Ibrahim, and made their submission to him. That general sent Achmet's head immediately to the grand seignior, who, by this quick dispatch, was eased of the trouble of maintaining a war in a distant country, and in a nation too that had ever been at enmity with the Turks, and in which his power was not as yet well settled on any solid foundation.

This rebel's death frightened the aga of Rhodes; the fear of being discovered, and of meeting with the like fate, made him press the execution of the enterprise in which he had engaged himself; and the very same motive made the grand master, who had no hopes left of any succour or diversion from Egypt, resolve, before he engaged further in it, to see how the Christian princes stood affected, and what forces he could obtain from them.

While these revolutions happened in Egypt, the commissaries which the grand master and council had sent to visit Malta, Goza and Tripoli, having returned, made their report of the condition in which they found those islands, and the town of Tripoli. The isle of Malta, they said, was only one continued rock of sandy stone, and might be about six or seven leagues long, three or four broad at most, and about twenty in circumference; that upon the surface of this rock there was not, at most, above three or four feet of earth, and that too all stony; a soil altogether unfit to produce wheat and other corn, but that it abounded in figs, melons, and other fruits, which were very plenty there; that the principal commerce of the island consisted in honey, cotton and cummin, which the inhabitants bartered for corn; that if they excepted a few springs, which they met with in the farther part of the island, there was no such thing as spring-water, nor indeed any well, so that the inhabitants were forced to supply that defect by cisterns; that there was the like scarcity of wood, that they sold it by the pound, and that the inhabitants were forced to make use of cow-dung dried in the sun, or else of wild thistles, to dress their meat; that the capital city of the island, called *The Notable City*, was seated on a hill

in the midst of the island, and was of difficult access, by reason of the rocks which covered all the plain about it; that the place was only walled round, without any other fortifications, except some towers which were erected over the gates of the city; that on the south side of the island there were neither ports, bays, nor roads, and that all the shore in that part was lined with vast rocks, against which ships, when caught in a storm, were often drove by the violence of the wind, and dashed to pieces; but that they discovered several points or eapes on the opposite side, and places that formed a sort of bays and roads, very proper to anchor in: that they had put in at the great port, which was defended by a fort, called the Castle of St. Angelo, and that below it there was a little town, commonly called La Città del Borgo: that this port was divided from another, called the Porto di Musetto, only by a narrow slip or point of rock: that besides the capital, the castle and the town, there were about forty hamlets or villages, consisting of several dwellings, scattered up and down the country, and about twelve thousand inhabitants, including the men, women and children, who were most of them poor and miserable, by reason of the barrenness of the soil.

The commissaries likewise presented to the grand master and council a plan of the island, in which they had taken care to describe, with great exactness, several little bays and roads, which served as a shelter to fishermen, and where the corsairs sometimes put into. They added, that the convenience of so many ports, so well adapted for the armaments of the order, made them be of opinion, that the emperor's proposals ought not to be rejected, provided

he did not, by his grant, pretend to oblige them to turn their enemies against his particular enemies.

As for the isle of Goza, called by the inhabitants Gaudisch, they said it was separated from that of Malta only by a narrow channel, which went by the name of Freo, of a league and a half, or two leagues in breadth, in the middle of which lay the little isles or rocks, called Comin and Cominot: that Goza was about eight leagues in circumference, three long, and one and a half broad; that they could not find any port in it; that it was all surrounded with craggy rocks and shelves, so that there was no landing but with great difficulty: that, however, the soil seemed to be very fertile; that there were about five thousand persons in it, including men, women and children, who were dispersed up and down in different villages, and who, for their security against the corsairs, had built a castle on a hill, but that it was ill fortified, and of very little consequence: that, notwithstanding its being so weak, they did not think the council would act prudently, were they to accept the offer which was made them, of the isle of Malta separately from that of Goza, which lay too near it, and which might some time or other serve for a retreat to their enemies.

The commissaries did not form the same opinion with respect to the town and castle of Tripoli. They represented to the council, that the place, which was seated on the coast of Barbary, near eighty leagues from Malta, had no fortifications about it, and that it was almost impossible to raise any there in a sandy soil, and bottom full of water; that the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough, the port and castle being commanded by a hill adjoin-

ing: in a word, that the place was surrounded by the territories of the king of Tunis, who would not suffer the Christians to continue there long; and, that the great distance of it from Malta, would not allow them, in case it was attacked, to throw in seasonable succours: that corn was still scarcer at Tripoli than at Malta, by reason of the barrenness of its soil, which bore nothing but dates. From all which they concluded, that if they undertook the defence of the place, they should be exposed to lose all the knights they might afterwards put in garrison there.

The grand master acquainted the pope with this relation, and desired him to use his good offices with the emperor, to engage him to excuse the order from the defence of Tripoli, and remit the other heavy conditions he was for annexing to the feofment of Malta. But, at that juncture, August 1524, it would have been impossible for him to have pitched on a mediator with Charles V., who was less agreeable to that monarch, or more suspected by him than Clement VII. There was actually at that time a league on foot between that pontiff, the king of England, and the Venetians, in order to maintain the liberty of Italy, which was threatened with an entire subversion since the loss of the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I., king of France, had been taken prisoner by the emperor's generals.

That prince, whose personal qualities merited a better fortune, had invaded the duchy of Milan, which he pretended belonged to him and queen Claude, his wife, in right of Valentia Visconti, wife to Lewis duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. The Sforzas had seized on it in prejudice of the princes of the house of Orleans. Francis Sforza was

actually in possession of it. The emperor, under pretence of supporting him as his vassal, had sent a strong army into the Milanese, and, after the battle of Pavia, his generals behaved more like conquerors, than protectors and commanders of auxiliary troops. They put garrisons, in the emperor's name, into the principal towns of the duchy, under pretence that the new duke had not yet received the investiture of it. The pope and Italian princes, who, in the beginning of the war, were equally afraid of the neighbourhood of two such powerful princes, could have wished, that the French had not disturbed Sforza in the possession of the Milanese.

The king being taken prisoner, brought not only the Italian princes, but also the king of England, over to the party of France. Sforza himself, who had now no reason of being under any further apprehensions from a prince, who was both a prisoner and oppressed by the imperialists, who continued to plunder him of his dominions, negotiated a league against a potentate who was for swallowing up all Europe, and aspired to an universal monarchy.

Such was the situation of affairs, and the occasion or pretence of a war, which in reality had no other source than the ambition of Charles V. After the death of the emperor Maximilian, that prince and Francis I. were rivals in the election for the empire. This rivalry of rights and pretensions, which monarchs are scarce ever at a loss for, when they do not want forces, and their personal qualities, which were excellent indeed, but directly opposite in both; all these circumstances, I say, inspired those two great princes with an emulation of glory, which, after the election of Charles V. was succeeded by an animosity, that was not to be ap-



peased by the blood of so many thousands of their subjects. All mankind beheld with admiration, in the person of Francis I. a courage that was proof against the greatest dangers of war, a noble frankness worthy of a better age, an inviolable faith in his treaties, and goodness and clemency towards his subjects: but it would have been happy had this prince been less devoted to pleasure, had been more secret in his affairs, had used a closer attention and pursuit in the execution of his designs, and had never employed his favourites as his ministers and generals. Charles V. on the contrary, had all the qualities of a great politician, but few of those virtues which have their seat in the heart, and that shine with lustre in a private man. He was puffed up with an insatiable ambition, interest was the sole motive of all his actions, he was impenetrable in his designs, always attentive to the different dispositions of all the princes of Europe, had a superior capacity to all his ministers, was happy in the choice of his generals, had no relish for the pomp and luxury of entertainments, and if he was not so chaste as the precepts of Christianity might require, he yet, at least, in order to avoid scandal, was as careful to conceal his gallantries from the penetrating eye of the courtier, as other princes of his time were to publish theirs. In a word, he was without faith, probity, honour, or even gratitude: and he yet used his utmost endeavours, by his behaviour, to persuade the world that he possessed all those virtues.

It was scarce possible for two princes, endowed with such great qualities, both of them ambitious, brave, powerful, and neighbours to one another, to remain long in peace, or leave the rest of Europe

80. From the pictures of these two monarchs, of which we have only given the reader a sketch, he will easily judge, that fortune must be obliged to declare for the abler of the two: and indeed Francis I. became the prey of his enemy, so that the business at that time was to negotiate a peace, and the recovery of his liberty. Charles V. rated them both at so high a price, that the king, greatly disgusted at the hardness of the conditions, protested openly, that he would sooner resign the crown to the dauphin his son, than tear off one of its finest flowers.

But the regent his mother, not minding a design which the uneasiness of his imprisonment had occasioned, resolved to send the duchess of Alençon, her daughter and the king's sister, into Spain; she was a princess adorned with all the graces of nature, brought up in the intrigues of a court, and of as complying a temper as if she had not been born with that pride and empire, which are almost inseparable from a multitude of charms, especially when supported by so illustrious a birth. The regent was in hopes, that she would prevail with the emperor to set the king her brother at liberty, upon less hateful conditions. To assist her in this important negotiation, she named the archbishop of Ambrun, known afterwards by the title of the cardinal de Tournon, the bishop of Tarbes, afterwards cardinal de Grammont, and de Selue, first president of the parliament of Paris. The writer of the annals of the order of St. John of Jerusalem relates, that the regent, thoroughly persuaded of the grand master's affection for the person and service of the king her son, sent him an express to desire him to convey the princess her daughter to Spain on board the

galleys of the order, in the most pressing terms, and that nobleman, in order to determine him by motives, drawn from his own interest, to undertake the voyage, represented to him, that as his order stood in need of a sure and fixed settlement, he, by his presence, and treating in person with the emperor, would be able to get over that infinite number of difficulties, which that prince's ministers in Italy started, with regard to the feofment of the isles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli.

The grand master acquainted the pope with these dispatches of the regent: Clement, who was actually engaged in measures with that princess, highly approved the voyage; he was desirous of the king's liberty, perhaps not so much out of regard for him as for fear of the formidable power of his enemy: he flattered himself, that if they could once get Francis I. out of prison, that prince, to revenge the severity of this treatment, would not fail to begin a new war, which, should it but once break out between two such implacable sovereigns, would be the security of the other sovereigns, and maintain a peace in the rest of Europe. The grand master, upon the answer of his holiness, embarked on board the galleys of the order at Civita Vecchia, June 25, 1525, and went to Marseilles, where he waited upon the regent, and had several conferences with her, during the time he waited for the duchess of Alençon.

The emperor's ministers, alarmed and jealous of this voyage, the motive of which they were utter strangers to, seized immediately on all the revenues of the order in Italy: the emperor did not fail to approve their conduct; that prince was displeased with the grand master and council on other ac-

counts. We have already observed, that he offered them the isles of Malta and Goza, and the town of Tripoli, for their residence; the order's delaying to give him a positive answer, made him resolve to write in particular to the languages of Castile and Arragon, the knights whereof were his subjects by birth; and he sent a Spanish knight, Peter Fernandez Heredia, or Errera, to the council, who, upon his arrival at Viterbo, represented, in the emperor's name, to the lords of the council, that from a persuasion that the order would accept of so considerable a settlement with great satisfaction, as well as acknowledgment, he had for eighteen months delayed providing for the fortification of those islands, and desired, that the council would tell him their sentiments plainly upon those points. The envoy added, in a very arrogant manner, that if there was any language who should oppose them, the emperor, his master, would take his measures accordingly.

That prince, dazzled by a constant series of prosperity, and grown more haughty by the king of France's imprisonment, imagined himself able to give laws to all the powers of Europe; and this domineering spirit had diffused itself into the languages of those who were born in his dominions. The Spanish knights were for governing in the council, and would have the emperor's offers accepted immediately, and the dependance and subjection he annexed to them submitted to: nay, some of them went so far as to insinuate, that if the French would not comply with their sentiments, they would divide from them; that they would settle themselves at Malta, independent even on the grand master; and that they were in hopes of

prevailing with the emperor to unite the order of Monteza, a Spanish foundation, to their particular congregation, that they might indemnify the order for what they might lose in France, by the withdrawing of the French knights and commanders.

But the council, as well as the most discreet of the Spanish knights, who abhorred a schism, answered the envoy, that the whole order was very sensible of the generous offers of his imperial majesty; but that, in an affair of such importance, they could not take any decisive resolution without the grand master's presence, and the pope's express consent; that they would write immediately to them both; that they understood the grand master was gone to the emperor's court, in order to learn from his own mouth, what were his intentions with respect to the isle of Malta; and that they were in hopes, that that great prince would, for the general good and honour of the order, moderate some of the conditions, which he was for annexing to that feoffment.

The council immediately sent the commander Bosio for France, to give the grand master advice of the sequestration which the emperor's ministers had made of the estates which belonged to the order in Italy, and of the proposals which the chevalier Errera had made before all the council. The grand master deferred answering the council until he had seen the emperor; he ordered Bosio to follow him, and set out for Spain with the duchess of Alençon, for whom the king of England had got a safe conduct.

As soon as this princess was arrived at Madrid, and that the emperor had discharged the ceremonial, and paid the first honors that were due to her

quality, he gave a private audience to the grand master, A. D. 1525, who first gave him an account of all that had passed at the siege and surrender of Rhodes. That great man afterwards represented to him the losses which the order had sustained in that place, and the deplorable condition the whole body was in at that time; and finding the emperor affected with such a number of calamities, he complained in the softest terms of the seizure which his ministers had made of the estates of the Italian commandries, under pretence, that, on his way to Spain, he had passed through France before he came to his court. To prevent the designs, which the emperor, in granting the isle of Malta to the knights, might have of making them his vassals, he insinuated to him, that though they were all born subjects of different sovereigns, yet the order in general, by its profession, was independent from any of them; that a knight, who was a Frenchman by nation, was no more devoted to the king of France than he was to his imperial majesty: that the only purpose of their institution was to defend all Christians alike against the incursions of the infidels; that for so many ages as the order had existed with some kind of glory, it had never yet been known to engage against any Christian prince in favour of another. He afterwards entered into the affair of Malta, and omitting the hard conditions which the emperor was for tying them down to, he told him generally, that the order would have long before reaped the advantages of his imperial majesty's beneficence, if they had not been withheld by hopes of recovering Rhodes; that there was a party formed for the execution of that enterprise; upon which, with the emperor's leave, he

brought the commander Bosio into his chamber, who gave him a very particular account of all the measures he had taken on that account with the principal inhabitants. He added, that the order wanted nothing but a sum of money necessary to raise three or four thousand men, and carry at the same time arms for the inhabitants, whom the Turks had disarmed with the utmost strictness.

The emperor entered into the grand master's views: however, before he engaged further in the project, he advised him to confer with the duke of Alva, his ablest general, about it. He added further, that in case that nobleman should find the execution of it practicable, he himself would freely give 25000 crowns to facilitate its success, that he wished the other potentates of Christendom would likewise contribute to it; but that if, after all, the project should not happen to succeed, the order might nevertheless depend upon having the isle of Malta for their settlement; and, as an earnest of his friendship, he immediately ordered a full and entire restitution to be made of all the revenues which his ministers had sequestered in Italy. The grand master, who was very sensible that monarchs will never own themselves to be in the wrong, thanked him for that act of his justice, in as handsome and grateful a manner, as if he had received a favour from him. He begged leave, before he left him, to wait upon the king of France; which the emperor readily granted him, in hopes that the grand master might contribute to the negotiation of a peace.

An officer of his guards, by his order, conducted him to the apartment of Francis I. That prince was not guarded like a prisoner of war, but rather like a state-criminal. Charles V. although the

king's vassal, in order to extort an immense ransom, and the exorbitant conditions from his lord, did his utmost to make his imprisonment insupportable to him. Such harsh and unworthy usage threw Francis I. into a deep melancholy, which was succeeded by a violent fever. The arrival of the princess his sister, who was very dear to him, gave him the first emotions of joy ever since his misfortune. His health grew better, and the grand master being introduced into his room at this juncture, he embraced him very affectionately, extolled the brave defence he had made at Rhodes, and ordered the ministers who accompanied the princess his sister, not to treat of any article in their negotiation with the emperor's ministers, without first communicating it to the grand master. He was admitted into all their conferences, where he acted as a mediator. His dignity and great reputation, his prudence and excellent capacity, greatly enforced his remonstrances : and he left no expedient untried in order to reconcile the interests of those two princes, and engage them, by a solid peace, to unite their arms against the common enemy of the Christians. The duchess of Alençon, on her side, employed all the charms of her wit, in order to conquer the emperor's harshness and obstinacy ; but that prince, who was regardless of every thing but his interest, and who fancied, that as the king was his prisoner, he might soon make himself master of a part of France ; besides the renunciations which the king offered to make of his rights to the Milanese and kingdom of Naples, as well as to the homage of the counties of Flanders and Artois, and also an immense sum of money, he insisted likewise on the duchy of Burgundy, in order to enable himself, in case the war should



break out again, to fall with his troops into France; and march up to the gates of Paris. The king, who was highly sensible of the importance of this alienation, rejected the proposition with great resolution; and to shew the emperor that he would rather renounce his liberty than so considerable a branch of his crown, he resolved to part with the princess his sister, and deprive himself of her company, though it was the only comfort he had left. He made her set out on her return for France, and she was likewise obliged to it upon some private advices which she received, that the emperor sought only a pretence to give orders for her being arrested. Charles V. the most artful prince of his time, had purposely spun out the negotiations, in order that the safe conduct which he had granted her might be expired. He was surprised at the princess's departure, and he sent orders to the frontiers of Spain to stop her the very day that the term of her safe conduct should be at an end; but the princess, being well informed of this trick which he designed to play her, travelled as many miles in one day upon the same road in her return, as she had done in four at her coming into Spain. This expedition and Clermont de Lodeve's arrival on the frontier, with a large convoy, on the last day of the safe conduct, hindered the emperor's officers from making any attempt to seize her person; so that the emperor could not gain any advantage by his artifice.

The departure of the princess did not any way cool the grand master's zeal and good offices in promoting a peace. He frequently represented the necessity of it to the emperor and his ministers; declaring, that whilst that prince's arms were employed against France, Solyman was pushing his

conquests in Hungary, and opening himself a way to penetrate into Austria and the hereditary countries. On the other side, when he was with the king, he made him sensible how necessary his presence was in his kingdom, but proved to him at the same time, that the emperor would never give him his liberty, unless he made a resignation of the duchy of Burgundy. In fine, he managed both those princes so successfully, that he brought them to agree to a treaty of peace. Francis I. persuaded that he could not alienate the demesne of his crown, and that conditions extorted during a severe captivity were never valid, made a secret protest against the violence offered him by his vassal, and signed every thing they presented to him. It was agreed, that the king should be conducted back into his kingdom on the tenth of February, and that for a guaranty of the treaty, he should give the two princes his sons in hostage; and also several other articles which are foreign to this work. The grand master, who was ever vigilant to promote the interests of religion, got an article inserted in it, which was, that the emperor, and king of France, should join in soliciting the pope to set on foot a crusade against the infidels, and should themselves contribute to it to the utmost of their power.

After the treaty was signed, the emperor and the king had several interviews; but their visits were like those of reconciled enemies, and were made with more politeness than sincerity. The first time that the emperor went to see the king, he would needs take the grand master, whom he called his father, along with him. We meet with a remarkable circumstance, viz. that those two great princes being out together, the emperor, as they were to

pass through a door, offered the king the precedence, which that prince refused; whereupon they called the grand master to decide it. "I pray God," said the venerable old man, "that there may never be any difference of greater consequence between your majesties:" and then directing his discourse to the king of France, "No one, Sir, disputes but that the emperor is the first prince in Christendom; but as you are in his dominions, and in his palace, you ought not, in my opinion, decline the honours which he thinks himself obliged to show to the greatest monarch in Europe." This answer, which was as subtle as it was judicious, satisfied both parties; the emperor especially was exceedingly pleased with it: he honoured him afterwards with several marks of distinction, and whenever he was giving audiences from his throne, he would make the grand master sit under the same canopy with himself. In fine, when the grand master, after the king's departure, took leave of him to return into Italy to Viterbo, he made him fresh promises of the island of Malta, and likewise assured him, that he would leave that affair to the pope, who should be arbitrator of the conditions and terms of the fiefment.

But before the grand master left Spain, he put an end to a dispute that was risen in Portugal, relating to the great priory of Crato. Since the loss of Rhodes, and retreat of the convent to Viterbo, several European princes, not well affected to the order, and under pretence that it did not send any more squadrons out, as its institution required, against the infidels, seized on the revenues of the commandries; or else, in violation of the statutes of the order, and the rights of seniority, disposed of them in favour of such knights as were most agreeable to

them. The priory of Crato falling vacant by the death of John de Meneses, the king of Portugal, in prejudice of the chevalier Gonsalvo de Piementel, bestowed it upon prince Lewis his brother; and to make Piementel some amends, offered him a yearly pension of 9000 livres. The Portuguese knights, unwilling to bear with such an infringement of their rights, refused to own Don Lewis; the king, incensed at their opposition, threatened to seize all the estates belonging to the order within his dominions: and, pretending that they staid at Viterbo in a state of inactivity, contrary to what their statutes obliged them to, he declared that he would employ the revenues in a holy war against the Moors of Barbary.

The grand master judiciously supposing, that such a procedure, though very unjust, might yet be a dangerous precedent with respect to other princes, made up the affair. He thought that it was best, at such an unhappy juncture, to dissemble an injustice which he had not the power to redress: he consented that Don Lewis should keep the administration of the priory, by way of commendam; but he, in exchange, obtained of the king an authentic confirmation of all the rights and privileges of his order. That prince engaged solemnly that he would never trouble the knights again in the enjoyment of the commandries, which should fall to every one according to his rank of seniority. And as the enterprise of Rhodes was the only end and view in which all the grand master's designs centered, it was stipulated in the same treaty, that, for carrying on that holy war, the king should furnish the order with fifteen thousand crusados, a sort of silver money, worth at that time about four livres and a half.

Scarce was the grand master returned into France, when news came that Henry VIII. king of England, on the very same pretence that the king of Portugal had made use of, and as if the order had been entirely extirpated by the loss of Rhodes, had prevented the commander Weston from taking possession of the grand priory of that kingdom; and even pretended to unite the revenues of all the commandries to the crown, or oblige all the English knights to serve as a garrison to Calais. These odious pretensions were a sensible affliction to the grand master; he saw, with grief, that the estates of his order, notwithstanding his indefatigable endeavours to the contrary, were going insensibly to be made a prey to princes and their courtiers. The popes, under colour of being its sovereigns, had some time before assumed to themselves the power of nominating to the grand priory of Rome, and to the commandries that fell vacant within the patrimony of St. Peter, and their other territories: and on the other side, the emperor's ministers in Italy seized on the richest benefices, without scruple; and fancied they did a favour to the order, by putting on its cross, as a mark that they enjoyed them only by virtue of the title of knights. In this general pillage and desolation, the grand master applied himself to the king of France, the only prince of Christendom, as we may say, who, amidst all the misfortunes that had happened to the order of St. John, treated it with the same esteem and affection with which he had always distinguished it.

The grand master, when he sent the prior of St. Giles and the commander de Bourbon, obliged them to take the French court in their way. These ambassadors besought that prince, in his name, to

employ his interest with Henry VIII. in behalf of the order. Accordingly the king wrote to him in the most pressing terms, and observed, in his letter, that the reason why the order had not, since the loss of Rhodes, been able to continue making war upon the infidels, was only for want of ports to fit out their ships; that they were actually treating for the isle of Malta, and he entreated him, in the most pressing terms, to contribute to their settlement in that place; that as soon as the head convent and place of arms for the order should be fixed there, the knights would immediately be out at sea, according to their profession; and that the English merchants, his subjects, might perhaps be the first who would experience how useful that military body was to all Christendom in general, though independent on any particular Christian prince.

But these considerations, which were so very reasonable in themselves, and all the offices of that great prince, had little influence on the king of England; he had no regard to the memorials which the two ambassadors presented to him: nay, he proceeded further, and forbade them to carry either money or effects, arising from the estates of the order, out of his dominions; and dismissed the envoys abruptly, without any great regard to their character. These ministers, on their return, giving the grand master an account of the ill success of their negotiation, told him, they fancied they had discovered the true source of this shameful injustice, and that it arose from the resentment of that prince, the proudest monarch of his age, who was offended that the grand master had visited the emperor and the king of France, without paying him the same compliment; nor was this conjecture altogether

groundless. Though the dominions of Henry were not so large as those of Charles and Francis, he was not less formidable to those two princes on that account, whose power he balanced, always falling in with that party, which his interest led him to take in their disputes. This subtle conduct was the reason of his being courted by both those princes, who were very careful to treat him with great respect. The important part he acted in the affairs of Europe, the absolute authority he had acquired in his own dominions, though the laws are more respected there than the sovereign, and his skill in always bringing the parliament into his measures, all this made him consider himself, and expect to be considered by others, as the arbiter of Christendom. The grand master could hardly, at first, persuade himself that the omission of a formality and ceremony, which he was not obliged to, could possibly raise that prince's resentment, and cause him to treat the order in so harsh a manner. But, as the most powerful princes, especially such as reign with despotic sway, are bred in flattery, and seldom breathe any air but what is swelled with pride and vanity, the grand master thought he should come off at an easy rate enough, provided he could get, by so slight a condescension, the estates of his order restored. The venerable old man, therefore, without regarding either his age or the severity of the season, set out for England, sending the commander Bosio before, the ablest negotiator at that time in the order, and perhaps in all Christendom. The commander applied himself first to cardinal Wolsey, the king of England's prime minister, to whom he delivered a letter from the grand master, entreating him to present Bosio to the king, and use his credit with that prince, to pro-

note the interests of the order. The cardinal procured him an audience. Bosio presented the grand master's letter to Henry, telling him, at the same time, that he was coming on purpose from Italy to pay his respects to him, but thought it his duty not to enter his dominions, without first knowing whether it would be agreeable to him. Henry, pacified by this step, answered, that he had the utmost veneration for the grand master's person; that he should be delighted to see so great a captain, but that he was sorry he had set out in so severe a season; that, however, he should at all times be received in his dominions with all the respect that was due to his dignity and merit. The king sent Bosio back to the grand master, whom he found at the court of France, and delivered him two letters, one from the king, the other from his minister, dated February 25th, 1524, both of them in very obliging terms, and inviting him to come as soon as possible to England. He immediately went thither, and, after having rested for some days in the commandery or priory of St. John, he set out for the court, attended by the great crosses, commanders, and knights of England and Scotland, who had come from different places to wait on him.

This retinue was numerous and magnificent, and, to make its splendour still greater, the king sent some of the most considerable lords of his court a great way before to meet him. With this noble convoy he was introduced into the palace. Henry gave him a very gracious reception; and the spectators observed, that he beheld him with an earnestness and attention, which the sight of a prince, whose valour and conduct had made him equally famous in Europe and Asia, might naturally inspire,



The grand master paid him all the civilities which he thought due to so powerful a monarch, but did not think it proper to enter into any detail of the affairs which had brought him into England: he went no further than to desire of that prince, in general terms, his protection for the order. All that the king said, consisted only in eulogiums on the defence of Rhodes, which, he said, was more glorious than the conquest of an entire province; and, when the grand master was for withdrawing, the king ordered his officers to lodge him in his palace, where he was served with a magnificence suitable to his rank, and the esteem the king had for so illustrious a guest.

They afterwards had several private conferences together, concerning the siege of Rhodes, and a proper place for fixing the convent. The grand master declared to him, that, notwithstanding the formidable power of Solyman, the order would have been still mistress of Rhodes, had the Christian princes vouchsafed to send the least succour thither. He continued to relate how, being in want of provisions and ammunition, particularly of powder, and after having seen the greatest part of his knights, and also of the inhabitants, fall in the defence of the place, and that the Turks had pushed on their works to the very middle of the city, he had found himself reduced to the last extremity, and was forced to abandon them the little ground that was left him; how he had embarked with the poor remains of his fortune, and had been attacked by terrible storms in his voyage: how, thinking to find a place of refuge in the port of Messina, he had been driven thence by the plague; how pope Clement had allowed him to retire to Viterbo till he might meet

with a fixed and secure place for his residence; how the plague had driven them thence a second time; how part of the knights of the convent had been received in the town of Nice by the duke of Savoy's consent, and the vessels and galleys of the order put into the port of Villa Franca; how the rest of the knights were, by his permission, dispersed over the several provinces of Christendom, where the order had any commanderies; how the plague being abated at Viterbo, they had assembled there again, under the protection of the holy see; and how, in this uncertain and deplorable situation, the emperor made him a generous offer of the islands of Malta and Goza; but that his ministers were clogging this donation with conditions that were incompatible with the independence so necessary to be preserved in his order; for the knights could not own any one particular prince for their sovereign, without rendering themselves suspected by the rest. He added, moreover, that he had not lost all hopes of recovering Rhodes; that a party was actually formed there for driving out the Turks; that the principal inhabitants of the island, as well as some officers of the garrison, were engaged in the conspiracy; that the order wanted nothing to make the attempt, but the necessary funds for levying troops, and fitting out the ships of the order; that in case the project should not succeed, he would accept of Malta, and that he hoped the emperor's generosity would extend so far, as not to insist on a subjection from the order, which would give a fatal stroke to their liberty, and that spirit of neutrality which the knights professed.

The king of England thought the design of reconquering Rhodes, was a project highly worthy of

the grand master's courage and valour; and, in order to have some share in so noble an enterprise, he promised him twenty thousand crowns, the value of which he afterwards paid in artillery and fire-arms. They no longer talked of seizing or sequestering the estates of the order, much less of disposing of the priories and commanderies; all that the king desired of the grand master was, to confer the grand priory of Ireland on the turcopolier brother, John Ranson, who had been very serviceable to that prince in the government of that island.

The grand master, in order to show his complaisance to a king, with whom the order was so much obliged, for interest sake, to keep due measures, engaged the chevalier Babington to resign the priory of Ireland to Ranson, who, by way of exchange, made a resignation to him of the commandery of Dinemor, and the dignity of turcopolier. The grand master brought them likewise to a further agreement, that if Babington should come to be grand prior of England, he should be obliged to pay Ranson a pension of one thousand eight hundred livres. The king seemed extremely pleased at the grand master's readiness and exactness in executing what he had required of him: he returned him thanks for it, confirmed all the privileges of his order, and when that prince took leave of him, to return into Italy, he sent him, in his own and the queen's name, a bason and cup of massy gold, set with precious stones, which the grand master afterwards lodged in the treasury of the order.

The grand master returned to Italy with the satisfaction of having maintained the rights and privileges of his order in France, Spain, Portugal, and England; and in hopes of getting from the

respective sovereigns of those countries, particularly from the pope, a body of troops, sufficient to carry his point in the enterprise of Rhodes.

But while the illustrious old man was passing through the principal courts of Europe, various revolutions happened at Rome, which would not allow him to depend any longer on the succours which the pope had promised him. We have before observed, that Clement, in order to balance the power of Charles V., who was grown formidable since his gaining the battle of Pavia, had made a league with the kings of France and England, the Venetians, Sforza duke of Milan, and the Florentines, for the security and liberty of Italy. They called it *The Holy League*, because the pope was at the head of it. That pontiff, like most his predecessors, was afraid of nothing so much as of the re-establishment of the imperial authority in Italy. But the exploits of this league, through the different interests of the allies, were not answerable to the ardor with which it was formed.

The emperor by the assistance of the Colonnas, his partisans, raised a civil war in the pope's territories; and that pontiff, who was afraid of the expence which it would necessarily put him to, suffering himself to be amused by a treaty which he made with the emperor's ministers and the Colonnas, disbanded the troops which he had in Romagna. His enemies seeing him disarmed, not having the least regard to their faith, or the treaty they had just signed, entered Rome in a hostile manner. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, the most inveterate of the pope's enemies, was at the head of the rebels; some have pretended that his design was against the pontiff's life, flattering himself that, by his death,

and by force of arms, he should get himself placed in the pontifical chair. The pope had only just time enough to fly to the castle of St. Angelo: but as there were not provisions within the place sufficient to hold out for any considerable time, he was forced to submit to his enemies terms, A. D. 1526. They obliged him to sign a truce for four months with the emperor, to pardon the Colonnas, and to give hostages for the performance of his promise. But he was no slave to it; and, as soon as he had received a supply from the king of England, he took up arms again: he broke the truce, under pretence that they had made him sign it, with a dagger as it were at his throat; and that the Colonnas, in particular, who were vassals of the holy see, could not oblige their sovereign to capitulate. To revenge the insult which they had offered him, he began to show his resentment by a solemn deprivation of Pompeo Colonna from the dignity of cardinal, and caused the troops, which he had just levied for his security, to march against the lords of that family. Vitelli, his general, ravaged their lands, plundered the towns and castles belonging to that house, demolished their walls, and left the most dreadful marks of their master's resentment wherever they came.

All Italy was a prey to the armies of the emperor and the confederates: it would be impossible to describe the plunderings, the violences, and the inhumanities, which such a multitude of soldiers, of different nations, exercised in those provinces, where each party was the strongest. The soldiers frequently had nothing but licentiousness and impunity for their pay; and the generals did not so much consult the orders they received from their

respective sovereigns, as they did the methods of procuring subsistence for their troops.

The constable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood of France, who, enraged at finding himself persecuted by the mother of Francis I. had gone over to the emperor's party, not being in a condition to pay the body of troops which he commanded; in order to put a stop to the clamours of his soldiers, he promised them the plunder of one of the richest cities in Italy, without making any further declaration of the enterprise he had in view. We have heard but of few generals, who, like him, gained the entire confidence, and an absolute authority over their soldiers, without having any money to pay them; but a certain air of grandeur, which flows from an illustrious birth, and which never fails to command respect; his surprising valour; his skill in the art of war; and his easy and familiar behaviour, which yet was never derogatory to his dignity, had gained him the affection of his soldiers, who loved him even to adoration; so that they all swore, says Brantome, to follow him wherever he should lead the way, *though it were to the devil*.

The march of this army, which advanced with great diligence towards Tuscany, terrified the pope, and he relapsed into his usual uncertainties. The emperor's ministers made their advantage of it, and endeavoured to persuade him that he would find no solid advantages, nor indeed any kind of security, but in a strict alliance with their master.

Clement, though he had been already tricked by those very ministers, as was just now seen, was nevertheless very fond of believing them, and glad to disburden his mind of those irresolutions which showed him the danger he was in, without showing

him, at the same time, how he should prevent it; he signed a new truce, March 15. Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, whom he treated with, assured him that he had no occasion to be under any further apprehensions from Bourbon and the rest of the emperor's generals. He flattered himself with this hope, and looked upon this treaty as an invincible barrier, which the imperial troops could never break through, in order to fall upon the lands of the church. But Bourbon, whether in concert with Lannoy, or contrary to the sentiments of that minister, is uncertain, continued his march and appeared soon at the gates of Rome, May 7, 1527. He began by a scalado, and as he himself was clapping a ladder to the wall, he was shot by a musket-ball, and died two hours after. His soldiers, enraged at the death of their general, forced the defendants to quit the wall, threw themselves into the city sword in hand, and killed all that came in their way. They then dispersed themselves into the several quarters of it, broke into the houses, and without regarding either dignity, age or sex, they committed such cruelties and outrages as the most barbarous nations could hardly have been thought to perpetrate. What is still more deplorable, is, that this dreadful scene lasted not only twenty four hours, as usually happens to places taken by storm, but the imperialists daily repeated the same violences for upwards of two months afterwards, and did not hesitate to commit sacrilege, rapes, and murders in cold blood, in order to gratify their avarice and sensuality.

The pope with thirteen cardinals took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, but was soon invested; he held out however a month with the troops he had, but afterwards provisions failing him, he was obliged

to capitulate a second time with his enemies, October 30, 1527.

The conditions of this new treaty would have been scandalous, had they not been necessary : the imperialists insisted that he should engage to pay the sum of 400,000 ducats, in order to pay the army : requiring, moreover, that he should continue a prisoner, till he had paid the third part of the sum ; that he should afterwards be carried to the castle of Naples, to wait till the emperor's pleasure was known, with relation to the disposing of his person ; and that he should deliver up the castles of St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Castelana, and the towns of Parma, Placentia, and Modena.

Charles V. was greatly delighted to see one of his greatest enemies fall a second time into his hands ; but he, far from discovering any thing that might betray the real sentiments of his mind, did, from a regard to religion, conceal them under the specious appearances of a sensible affliction : so that at the first news he had of the pope's imprisonment, as if he had been taken captive by the Turks or Corsairs, he put on mourning in a public manner, and ordered solemn processions to be made over all Spain, to pray to God for his liberty : an affectation which he carried to too great lengths, and which imposed on no one, even among his own subjects, unless it were the common people.

Whilst this comedy was acting in Spain, in a manner so unbecoming the character of a great emperor, he, for fear his prisoner should make his escape, sent orders to Rome, to have him put under the guard of an old Spanish officer, Alarçon, who had been entrusted with that of Francis I. at Madrid. This officer behaved himself in as surly manner



towards the pope, as he had done towards the king of France; and carried himself towards a prisoner of his consequence, not like a soldier or an officer, but rather like a gaoler of criminals, or a commander of galley-slaves. But what gave the pontiff still more concern than the plundering of Rome, and his imprisonment, was the news he heard, that the Florentines, upon the first account of what passed at Rome, had drove all the house of Medicis, not only out of the city, but also out of the whole state of Florence, under pretence that it had too unlimited a power and authority in that place.

Nay, to such lengths did the spirit of party proceed, as to tear down the arms of this family, in all places where they had been set up: all which was done at the instigation of the emperor's ministers. The pope also was afraid lest his gaoler should have had private orders to dispatch him; but we must do him justice to say, that he was not capable of committing so great a crime, and that though he kept the pope very closely shut up, without allowing him the least indulgence in his imprisonment, yet that this was no more than the result of his own rough and distrustful temper. An historian has indeed told us, that cardinal Colonna pressed him several times to make away with the pontiff; that cardinal, who was all on fire for revenge, had also another motive for it, by hoping to make that act of vengeance a step towards his own promotion. But whether this officer might have been justly shocked at the dreadful villany of the proposal, or that he was afraid, that by the pope's death he should lose his part of his ransom; be that, I say, as it will, it is certain, that he always rejected that cardinal's infamous solicitations with an invincible constancy

and resolution, and that all the time the pope remained in his custody, he was as careful of preserving his life, as he was to prevent his making an escape.

The grand master, who was the pope's particular friend, and had both a great affection for his person, and the warmest for his interest, was sensibly concerned at his misfortunes: moreover, the open enmity between him and the emperor, his imprisonment, the breaking out of the war in all the provinces of Italy, the share that most of the sovereigns of Europe had in it, the leagues and treaties which were negotiating at the same time on all sides, scarcely left the knights of St. John any room to hope that the emperor would, in the hurry of these affairs and the tumults of war, suffer the affair of Malta to come upon the carpet; or particularly, that a prince of his ambition, and insatiably thirsting after dominion, could be prevailed with to give up any thing of that kind of vassalship, which he was for annexing to the fiefdom of the island. The greatest part of the knights, especially the French, for fear of falling under the power of Charles V. showed as much aversion for Malta as the Spaniards did eagerness for their settling there. The grand master justly considered that no one was able but the pope, by his good offices, to obtain a pure and absolute grant of it from the emperor; but then, so long as that pontiff should be at variance with the emperor, he either would not intermeddle with it, or if he did, it would be to no purpose. It was resolved therefore in the council of the order, to wait and see what time might produce in their favour, in what manner the affairs of Europe would clear up, what fate would attend the pope, and

what resolution would be proper for them finally to take with respect to Rhodes or Malta.

Not to mention the great disparity there was between these two islands, with respect to largeness, the extent of their dominion, and intrinsic riches, the grand master, uneasy at being a melancholy witness of the continual wars that raged between the Christian princes, wished himself far removed into the farthest parts of Asia, and his heart was entirely fixed upon the affair of Rhodes; nor was it long before he had news of it.

Eutimius, the Greek metropolitan of the island, the primum mobile of the enterprise, was as uneasy as any head of a party could possibly be, at the dilatoriness of the affair; and fearing to be discovered, had sent express after express to the grand master, in order to procure intelligence, and hasten the execution of it. The grand master wrote back to him, that the order not being able of itself to defray the expence of so great an armament as was necessary for such an attempt, he himself had been obliged to go into France, Spain and England, to solicit succours; that they were actually fitting out the two great carracks of the order; that they had also three galleys upon the stocks; that France had supplied him with galley-slaves, and England with cannon and artillery; that he was obliged to be present at a general chapter of the order, which he had called at Viterbo, but that he hoped to be soon able to appear before Rhodes with a fleet and body of troops strong enough to drive out the infidels. He sent this letter by the commander Bosio, ambassador and negociator general of all the affairs of the order, and ordered him to go a second time into the East, to learn the disposition of the people, and also

to take, in concert with the principal inhabitants of the island, the last measures for the execution of that important project. The continual wars that infested all Europe, prevented the knights, that lay at the greatest distance from Italy, from coming to the chapter. The grand master opened it with a discourse, which was equally solemn and pathetic. He put the assembly in mind of the loss of Rhodes, and took notice of the disposition of most of the knights, the storms they had passed through, the plague and sickness that had harassed the convent, the greediness of the seculars to grasp at and seize on the estates of the order; and the fear of worse evils for the future, if they did not prevent them by a fixed residence in some sea-port, by the convenience of which the knights might again carry on war against the infidels, and thereby take away from all those princes, who were ill affected to their body, all pretence to seize on their revenues. He next took occasion to mention his old age, the cruising and voyages he had made, the long and tedious labours and fatigues that he had undergone, the calamities of the time, and the public miseries: "Must I," cried this great man, "survive the loss of Rhodes, for no other end than to be a witness, and that at the period of my life, of the scattering and perhaps the utter ruin of an order, whose institution is of so sacred a nature, and whose government is confided to me?" And at last, directing his discourse to all the knights, he besought them, in the most pressing terms, and by the blood which they themselves and their brethren had so lately shed in the defence of Rhodes, to put an end to their divisions, which could not but be very fatal to the order; and to be unanimous in their choice

of a port for the future residence of the convent.

This moving discourse, his hair grown white in war, his perfect disinterestedness, his unbounded zeal and affection for the preservation of the order, melted the hearts of the whole assembly: and as the affair of Rhodes had been communicated only to two or three of the principal of the council, all the voices of the several nations united for applying to the emperor for a grant of the isle of Malta, free from all subjection, and on condition only of having a solemn mass said every year in memory of that benefaction, on the day that the donation should be made, and of sending a falcon to the viceroy of Sicily, but without any deputation, and by any messenger they should think proper.

Upon this, deputies were immediately dispatched to the court of Madrid, with orders to treat with the emperor's ministers on these conditions: but they found them much colder and stiffer than they had been told they would be. Whatever inclination the emperor had at first showed to establish the order of St. John in the isle of Malta, to make use of it as a bulwark to secure Sicily and the sea-coast of the kingdom of Naples from the incursions of the infidels; they had since filled him with apprehensions, that, as in the present juncture he was at war with France, the grand master being a Frenchman, would receive the fleets of Francis I., and his confederates, into his ports, and favour their enterprises. Besides, the emperor had as strong suspicions of the attachment of the knights to the interest of the holy see. On the other side, the principal deputy of the order, who was entrusted with the secret of the affair, and who knew that the grand master was still in hopes of recovering

Rhodes, was not very pressing in the negotiation; so that by the different views of those that managed it, it was spun out a great while longer, and every one saw plainly, that this great affair would not be adjusted till such time as a general peace should be concluded, or at least till the pope should have recovered his liberty, and made a pretended or real reconciliation with the emperor. This, however, was thought as yet to be at a very great distance; but the French army, commanded by the marshal de Lautrec, which was advancing towards Rome, hastened the conclusion of it. This army consisted of 20,000 foot, and 1000 men of arms, without including the light horse. On the other side, there was at Rome no more than the dregs of the Spanish and German troops, that had sacked that great city; the plunder and booty which the soldiers had got there, made a great many of them desert; nor had they lost a less number by excessive drinking, debauchery, and the contagious distempers, which, infecting various quarters of Italy at that time, completed the ruin of this army.

The emperor, therefore, seeing that he could not hinder the French from setting the pope at liberty, was desirous of having the honour of doing it himself. But as his interest was far superior to any private views of generosity, he ordered his ministers, in their treating with him about it, to get all the advantages from him that they could. Hugo de Moncada, who was pitched upon for this negotiation, told him, that he had orders from the emperor to set him at liberty; and to give him some little earnest of it, his confinement was less strict. The first thing he insisted on was, that he should disengage himself from the league, and act, as became

him, the part of the common father of all Christians. There was little difficulty on this article: the pope, who was not very scrupulous as to his word, would, to extricate himself out of those difficulties under which he laboured, have signed new treaties every day of his life. But they likewise demanded Hypolito and Alesandro de Medicis as hostages, by way of surety for his execution of the treaty. The imperial minister went further, and declared, that it was impossible for him to complete his liberty, though his master was so very desirous of it, till he had paid down the four hundred thousand ducats stipulated in the former treaty; and that without this previous condition he was afraid lest the emperor's soldiers, who were most of them Lutherans, and a set of ungovernable fellows, should make an attempt on his holiness's person.

The pontiff understood his meaning very well; but he was more afraid of Moncada himself than of his soldiers. He therefore, in order to get out of his hands as soon as possible, promised to pay ninety-five thousand ducats down, to give the like sum a fortnight after his leaving Rome, and the rest in three months afterwards. Guicciardin tells us, that in order to raise this sum, he was forced, before he went out of the castle of St. Angelo, to alienate the goods of the church; to sell, as it were by auction, three cardinal's hats to persons that were unworthy of such an honour; and all this, says the historian, to furnish pay to heretics, at the expence and with the consent of the vicar of Jesus Christ, who was likewise obliged to give not only his nephews as hostages, but also several cardinals, who were the most devoted to him, as a pledge for the performance of his promise.

December the ninth was the day fixed for setting him at liberty; but as there was still, notwithstanding all their treaties, a mutual diffidence on both sides, the pope, fearing lest Moncada should not be so good as his word, took his opportunity, whilst he was more negligently guarded, and got the night before out of the castle, disguised like a merchant; and mounting on a Spanish horse, made the best of his way to the castle of Orvieto, where he chose to retreat.

The pope, entirely persuaded that his liberty was altogether owing to the weakness of the emperor's troops, and the approach of the French army, wrote a very obliging letter on that subject to the marshal de Lautrec: and as if he had fully answered his first engagements by that slight compliment, observed a kind of neutrality ever afterwards; which it were to have been wished, for the edification of the church, he had never departed from. The war, however, between the emperor and confederates, lasted near two years more, with various success; but with the same fury and animosity.

During that interval, the commander Bosio, who, as we have observed, had been sent by the grand master to Rhodes, returned from thence with very ill news. The grand master's project had been communicated to too many persons, and the execution of it too long delayed to be preserved a secret. The Turks had some suspicion of it; the grand seignior immediately changed the garrison, and put several Christians of the Greek religion to death, and also some Mahometans; and it was with infinite difficulties, and through a thousand dangers, that the commander Bosio found means to escape the strict search which had been made by order of the govern-



nor of Rhodes. As a consolation for this ill success, that knight, who had a very penetrating genius, ever fruitful of new resources, proposed to the grand master a project for seizing on the town of Modon, and making it the seat and residence of the order.

This city, which is situated in the Morea, fell into the hands of the Venetians, A. D. 1124. Bajazet the Second took it in 1498. A Rhodian, named Lomelino Del Campo, who, after the loss of Rhodes, had retired to Messina, showed Bosio, in his passage to that island, that it would be a matter of no great difficulty for the order to take Modon, by the assistance of two Turks, originally Christians, and Greeks by birth, with whom he kept a constant correspondence relating to commerce, and who had confided to him their remorse for having renounced the faith, and their sincere desire of returning into the bosom of the church, as soon as a favourable opportunity should offer itself: that one of these renegadoes, named Calojan, had the command of the port; and that the other, whose name was Scandali, was, by his post of supreme director of the customs, master of the gate of the mole; and that they would both of them be glad to favour an enterprise, that should put so important a place into the hands of the Christians. Bosio, who was ever warm and enterprising in those things in which the interests of his order were concerned, was resolved to go and view the place in person, and discourse, if possible, with the two Turks. With this design he got letters from Lomelino for them both, and as he passed near the island of Sapienza, which lies off the southern coast of the Morea, over against Modon, he put into a bay, where he lay concealed, and sent a Rhodian that attended him, named Steff

Marquet, in a fisherman's bark, to Modon, to deliver the letters to the two Turks. They both came on board him in the night; he found them thoroughly penitent for their fault, and resolved to atone for it, though at the expence of their lives. The commander confirmed them in this noble resolution, and having consulted together about the several methods of putting their project in execution, they thereon agreed and determined, that they should conceal a certain number of knights in some merchant vessels; that part of those knights should in the night be let into the tower which commanded the port; and that the rest should seize on the gate of the mole; that thereupon a cannon shot should be fired for a signal, and that the Christian fleet, which was to lie concealed behind the island of Sapienza, should advance, and land the troops on board it; which should afterwards enter by the gate of the mole, throw themselves into the place, and carry it.

Bosio finding this enterprize might be very easily effected, highly commended the two renegadoes; exhorted them to persevere with constancy and resolution in the design with which heaven had inspired them for their salvation; moreover, promising them great rewards, if they should contribute to the conquest of Modon. He, after this, kept on his voyage, and at his return into Italy gave the grand master an account of this new negotiation; represented to him, that Modon was situated in a fruitful and plentiful country, where they might extend their conquest, if the enterprize should meet with success; that there was no rising ground near enough the place that might command it; that it was surrounded by the sea on two sides, and was

divided from the main land by a ditch, which they might make broader if they thought proper; that the port was spacious and secure, by means of a great mole, and several rocks that defended the entrance of it; and that as the island of Sapienza lay off it, they might build a citadel in that place, which might serve as an advanced fortification to the town of Modon.

The grand master did not reject the proposal; but being a man of solid judgment, and seeing that the enterprise of Rhodes had absolutely miscarried, he preferred a certain settlement at Malta before the uncertain hopes of the conquest of Modon. However, as he saw no great difficulty in this last project, he postponed the execution of it, till after he had taken possession of the isles of Malta and Goza, and he sent Bosio to the pope, to solicit him, in his and the order's name, to use his mediation in the treaty proposed about Malta, and employ his credit to get the rigour of the conditions moderated.

The pope being kept away from Rome, bare of money, and disheartened by the misfortunes of the war, was then endeavouring to repair his losses by a new treaty with the emperor; and that prince, if he could have depended on his word, would not have been averse to it; nay, he would have been glad of a public reconciliation, to efface from the minds of Christians the scandal which he had given, by the imprisonment of that pontiff, and the horrible sacking of the city of Rome.

There was but one consideration only, that could affect Clement's heart, and that was the restoring of his family in Florence. Charles V. plied him on that side: he offered him Margaret of Austria, his natural daughter, for Alexander de Medicis, that

pontiff's great nephew, or, as others say, his son. The managers of the negociation said further, that the emperor would engage himself to make him sovereign of the city and state of Florence, and that he should, after the ceremony of his coronation, and before the year 1530 was expired, see a mighty army before Florence, under the command of his ablest generals, in order to oblige them to take the oaths of allegiance to young Alexander his nephew. These advantageous proposals, such, indeed, as the pope could never have expected, though the league had been victorious, made him forget his own disasters, and the emperor's insults; and in order to contribute to a conquest of such importance to him, he thereupon engaged to maintain eight thousand men for this enterprise, at his own expense. He promised, at the same time, to give the emperor the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, without any other annual acknowledgment but a white genet; and agreed with the emperor's agents to be at Bologna the next January at farthest, in order to perform the ceremony of that prince's coronation. This treaty was signed July 29, 1529. The duchess Louisa of Savoy, the king's mother, and Margaret of Austria, the emperor's aunt, governess of the Low Countries, signed likewise another at Cambray, in the king's and emperor's names, to which they gave the name of The Ladies Treaty.

Such was the situation of affairs in Europe, when Bosio arrived at the pope's court: and though the affair of Rhodes had not succeeded, the pontiff was yet so well satisfied with the manner in which he gave him an account of his negociation, and of that which he had begun at Modon, that, as he himself was very skilful at negociations; or, to

speaking more properly, had a taste for them, thought at the same time without having any talents or capacity requisite for that purpose, he would needs keep him near his person, in quality of his privy-chamberlain; and ordered him to write to the grand master, to tell him, that he was in hopes of prevailing with the emperor, at their interview at Bologna, to make a grant of the isle of Malta to the order, with an entire exemption from all the burdensome conditions which his ministers were for clogging it with. About the latter end of the year, the emperor went from Spain into Italy, and came to Bologna, where the pope performed the ceremony of his coronation: and, in this interview, they adjusted matters for establishing young Medicis as sovereign in Florence.

The pope, seeing this happy prospect for the restoration of his family, recommended the interests of the order of St. John to the emperor in the most pressing terms; the pope having been bred up in it, and considering it in a manner, as his second family. Though the emperor was not easily caught with solicitations, in which his interest was not concerned, yet, in this juncture of his reconciliation with the pope, it was impossible for him to refuse him any thing: and we may affirm, that the house of Medicis, and the order of St. John, owe their re-establishment to that pontiff. The treaty concerning the knights was signed on March 24th, at Castel-Franco, a little town in the territory of Bologna; by which, the emperor declares, that in consideration of the particular affection which he had always bore to the order, and the important services which it had done for many ages to the Christian world, and to enable it to continue the same against the enemies

of the faith, he had given and granted for ever, as well in his own name, as for his heirs and successors, to the most reverend the grand master of the said order, and to the said order of St. John, as a fief-noble, free and franc, the castles, places, and isles of Tripoli, Malta, and Goza, with all their territories and jurisdictions, authority of judging in all pleas whatever, and power of life and death, with all other houses, appurtenances, exemptions, privileges, rents, and other rights and immunities; provided, that, for the future, the grand master and the knights should hold those places of him and his successors in the kingdom of Sicily, as noble, free and franc-fiefs, without being obliged to any service, or acknowledgment, but that of a falcon every year on All-saints day; and that in the vacancy of the bishoprick of Malta, the grand master and the convent should be obliged to present to him and his successors, three learned and pious persons, in order for his making choice of one of them to succeed to that dignity; and that the person so promoted, shall be honoured with the grand cross of the order; and in that quality, should have the privilege of sitting in the council.

When he had signed this deed, the emperor delivered it to the commander Bosio, to carry it to the grand master. That zealous minister set out immediately: but as the coachman, to satisfy his impatience, and make the greater haste, drove very hard, the coach overturned, and the ambassador was considerably hurt. What aggravated the misfortune was, that an unskilful surgeon being sent for to bleed him, instead of opening a vein, ignorantly pricked him in an artery; when the blood extravasating across the flesh and muscles of the

arm, caused a swelling, which was soon followed by a gangrene, that put a period to this excellent man's life. But before he expired, he gave the emperor's packet to a Rhodian gentleman, Statigulo, his intimate friend and companion, to deliver into the grand master's hands; and charged him likewise from him, to urge him to keep up the correspondence of Modon, from which, he said, he was persuaded the order would, some time or other, reap great advantages. The Rhodian discharged his commission with great exactness. The grand master was sensibly afflicted at the news of Bosio's death. However, in order to pursue his schemes, he sent afterwards the same Rhodian to Modon, with rich presents to the renegadoes. He was ordered to inquire into their character, the disposition they were in, and whether they had not changed their mind; and in case he found them resolved and qualified to go through with the enterprise for the service of the order, he was then to draw a plan of the city, and the parts adjacent, that so they might be able to concert before hand the order of the attacks.

This gentleman landed at Modon, disguised like a Greek merchant, and found the two Turks firm and unshaken in their resolution. They showed him the facility of the enterprise, by means of the authority which one of them had in the tower of the port, and the other by the keys of the gate of the mole, which were in their disposal. They told him, that the enterprise could not fail of success, provided the knights would but come with a body of troops, sufficient to beat the garrison and the inhabitants. When, after several conferences, they agreed to put off the execution of the project till the latter end of the next summer; in order that, if it should

meet with favourable success, as they had all the reason in the world to hope it would, the news of it might not reach Constantinople till autumn; and the Turks, not being able to put to sea in the winter, the knights might, by that means, have time sufficient to fortify themselves in their new conquest.

The grand master and council, as soon as they had received and examined the deed containing the donation of Malta, dispatched two of the principal commanders to thank the emperor, in the name of the whole order. They also sent, at the same time, an authentic copy of that important instrument to the prior Salviati, their ambassador at Rome, and nephew to the pope, in order that he might obtain a confirmation of it from the sovereign pontiff, who was the first superior of the order. Clement, with the greatest joy imaginable, granted it in a full consistory; and to make this deed still more binding and solemn, he caused a bull to be drawn up to that purpose, and published April 25th. Not long after this, the grand master sent, as from the order, into Sicily, Hugh de Copones, general of its galleys, and John Boniface bailiff of Manosque, of the language of Provence, in quality of ambassador, to take an oath of fidelity, in presence of Hector Pignatelli, duke of Montaleon, and viceroy of Sicily. The ambassadors acquitted themselves of this duty in the church of Palermo; when, the ceremonies being performed as usual in those cases, he received the deed of investiture, which the viceroy gave up into their hands, in the name of the emperor. This named afterwards six commissioners, who went on board the same galleys of the order as had brought the ambassadors to Sicily; after which, they, in concert, went together to Malta, Goza, and Tripoli.



of which they were put in possession by those commissioners. These, by virtue of the power which they had received from the grand master and council, took an oath, in their name, to maintain the inhabitants and people of those islands in their rights, customs, and privileges; and left, by the grand master's order, the commander Aurelio Botigella, as governor and captain of arms of Malta, and the chevalier Augustine Vintioville as his lieutenant.

A Spanish officer, Alvarez de Nava by name, who commanded in the castle of St. Angelo, having delivered up that fort to them, they delivered it up to the commander Peter Piton, who accordingly took possession of it, at the head of a company of foot. Not long after this, the grand master sent two galleys and a gallion, with a considerable number of knights on board, to Tripoli, whereof he named governor, Gaspar of Sanguessa, commander of Aliagne. The commissioners, after having provided for the defence of these several places, returned on board, and arrived at Saragossa or Syracuse in Sicily, where the council, for the better conveniency of their passage to Malta, had been already assembled for some time.

The grand master, before setting out, sent a great number of workmen and materials to Malta, to rebuild the lodgment of the castle of St. Angelo, which was entirely ruined, and shipped off powder and ammunition in the same vessels. But when he was for shipping off corn, the viceroy of Sicily insisted upon the duties of exportation; and the master of the mint acquainted the council, that the emperor would not suffer any money but what bore his impress to be coined at Malta, and that by his officers only. These difficulties, thus started, retarded the

departure of all the knights. The grand master and council were very sensible, that Malta could not possibly subsist without receiving corn from Sicily, and they looked upon these duties of exportation, from which the inhabitants of Malta, as denizens of Sicily, had been always exempted, as an indirect duty and tribute, to which the order was going to be subjected.

Nor did they less resent their pretending to deprive an order that was sovereign and independent, of the right of coining money. These several circumstances made them apprehensive, lest the emperor, a prince who was ever to be guarded against in his treaties, and whose words, though in outward appearance clear and free from ambiguity, nevertheless concealed equivocal meanings, should one day make use of these pretensions as a right, and employ them in keeping the order in an absolute dependence. Reflections of this nature alarmed the greatest part of the knights: there were many of them who maintained, that it would be impossible for the order to preserve its liberty in the neighbourhood of so powerful and ambitious a prince; others of a warmer temper, and who were for straining every thing, insisted openly that they must absolutely break the treaty; that Malta was a barren island, or rather rock, where the inhabitants would die of hunger; that the two elements of man's food, bread and water, were wanting in it; and that the present which Charles V. had made them, was not worth the parchment they had employed in writing the deed of gift. But the grand master and council, more prudent and circumspect in their views, as well as words, thought proper to inform themselves of the emperor's real intentions from himself only;

for which purpose they dispatched two ambassadors to him, with orders to represent, that his imperial majesty was very sensible, that so far from drawing any advantage from the isles of Malta and Goza, and the city of Tripoli, he was at the yearly expence of three hundred and forty thousand livres for the maintaining the garrisons in the several strong holds and castles; that it would have been impossible for the inhabitants to subsist in them, had they not ever been considered as denizens of Sicily, and, as such, had enjoyed the privilege of exporting corn from thence, free from any duty of exportation; that the order had been surprised he should be for rendering their condition worse than that of the present inhabitants; nor were they less surprised that, by the deed of gift, though they were to be acknowledged as sovereign and independent, yet, nevertheless, they should be debarred from coining money, and, by that means, be deprived of one of the choicest of its royal prerogatives, a privilege which the grand prior of Germany enjoyed, in all its latitude, in the empire. The ambassadors were ordered not to abate a particle in these articles; and, at the same time, were expressly commanded, in case the emperor should insist on the pretensions of his ministers, to give him back immediately his deed of gift, take their leave, and return forthwith.

These two ministers were no sooner arrived at his court, and admitted to an audience, but, instead of opening with the design for which they had chiefly been sent, they told him, that their superiors had sent them to thank his imperial majesty for the great exactness, as well as little trouble, which his commissioners had given the order, in putting them in possession of the islands and strong holds, of

which he had been so gracious as to make a cession in their favour; and that the grand master was just on the point of transporting himself and all the convent thither. They added, that he should even have set out by this time, had not some difficulties arose, which the viceroy of Sicily had started, only from the great zeal he had for his service; but that the whole order hoped, that his majesty, out of his wonted goodness, would come to a resolution, and determine that affair. After having, in a few words, told him what the viceroy's pretensions were, as if the emperor had known nothing of the matter, they artfully insinuated to him, that, although the grand master and council were highly sensible of the importance and value of the gift which he had made them of Malta, nevertheless it had not yet been accepted by the unanimous consent of all the knights; that the French, in particular, who had been brought up at Rhodes, and in an independence that naturally results from an unlimited sovereignty, appeared to be least satisfied with it; that they had just reasons to apprehend, they should make the several pretensions of the viceroy serve as a pretext to oppose the translation of the council; that his imperial majesty knew very well, that the superiors of a free republic, composed of knights of various nations, and educated with high notions of honour, were not to exert their authority but with the utmost circumspection, and particularly in an affair, wherein each individual conceived he had as great an interest as his superiors; for which reason, the grand master and council conjured him to finish this work of his own creation himself, and to employ his sovereign authority for the removing of the obstacles which his ministers formed. They concluded with

assuring him, that the free and voluntary acknowledgments and gratitude of the knights, and their zeal in defending his territories against the infidels, would greatly compensate all the viceroy's pretensions.

Notwithstanding that the emperor's design in making over Malta to the order of St. John, was to make it serve as a bulwark to his kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, nevertheless this monarch never gave up the most inconsiderable of his interests, but with the view of gaining a more considerable one by such a cession. He insisted strongly on the viceroy's pretensions, imagining that the order, after having brought matters thus far, would not break the treaty for the sake of those two articles. In order, therefore, to increase the duties of exportation, he declared that he could not consent to allow the order to fetch corn from Sicily, unless they would agree to pay a certain sum per ton, as should afterwards be agreed on; and to procure to himself a kind of sovereignty over the order, he added, that he absolutely would not allow them to coin money, or any other to be current over the island, but what was coined in his own mints.

If these two ministers had directly acted according to their instructions, the treaty would have been at an end; but they thought it important enough to merit their sending to the council for new orders. Accordingly they wrote with the utmost expedition to the grand master, who immediately sent an account of it to the pope, the protector of the order. The pontiff dispatched to the emperor the prior Salviati, his nephew, who was at his holiness's court, in quality of resident of the grand master and the whole order; and this minister

made so good an advantage of the credit which the pope had then with the emperor, that he obtained from him a new treaty, in which the two articles relating to the exportation of corn, and the coining of money, were inserted in favour of the order.

Nothing was now wanting for the entire establishment of the knights at Malta, but the transportation of the grand master, council, and all the knights into that island. They first put on board five galleys, two great carracks, and several transport ships, the inhabitants of Rhodes, who, being resolved to share the fortune of the order, had continued with the knights ever since they left that island: they also shipped on board these vessels the effects and records of the order, as likewise various moveables, together with ammunition and provisions. A great number of knights, and soldiers in their pay, went over in this little fleet, which, before its arrival, met with a dreadful storm, in which one of their galleys was dashed to pieces against a rock: one of the carracks had also like to have been lost; she had already got into the port at Malta, when immediately there arose such violent winds, that, notwithstanding her being fastened with three anchors, she broke all her cables, and, after twice running a-ground, at last sunk in the sand. They thought her lost, when a contrary wind springing up, raised her, after which they set her afloat, and found that her hull had received no manner of damage. Such as were for drawing predictions from every transaction, did not fail to declare, that heaven seemed, by that incident, to point out the fate of the order, which, after having suffered such a variety of dangers and storms, should at last happily fix itself in Malta,

This island is situated in the forty-sixth degree of longitude, and in the the thirty-fifth degree ten minutes of northern latitude: it has the Mediterranean to the east, looking towards Candia; to the north Sicily, which is but fifteen leagues distant from it; Tripoli in Barbary to the south; and the islands of Pantalarea, Linosa, and Lampadusa to the west: that part of the sea which separates it from Sicily, generally goes by the name of the Channel of Malta. This country, according to a tradition of its inhabitants, had been anciently governed by an African prince, called Battus. It was since in the hands of the Carthaginians; and, at the time that the knights of St. John took possession of it, they met with several inscriptions in the Punic tongue, engraved on pieces of marble and broken pillars. The Romans, during the wars of Sicily, drove the Carthaginians from thence; and the Arabians, about the ninth century, after the ruin of the empire, made themselves masters of it. About anno 1190, Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, won it from the Barbarians; since which time it has been annexed to the kingdom of Sicily.

The grand master, council, and chief commanders, got into the great port on the 26th of October, 1530; and, as soon as they landed, they went directly to the parochial church of St. Lawrence, where, having first paid their homage to Him, whom the order acknowledge for its only sovereign, they went to the town, which is situated at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. The grand master could hardly meet with a house for himself to lodge in, they being no more than so many fishermen's huts, in which the commanders and knights dispersed themselves. The grand master took up his quarters in the castle;

and, some days after his entry, he went and took possession of the capital, which lay farther up the country, and about the middle of the island. It is called by Ptolemy *Melita*, after the name of the whole island; others give it the name of the *Notable City*. We are told that it was not then thirteen hundred paces in circumference: it was the usual residence of the bishop. The grand master, after his authority had been acknowledged by all the inhabitants, went through the whole island, to find out a place that might be safe, as well as commodious, for the settling of the council and the whole body of knights.

We have already observed; that the two greatest ports were separated from one another by a neck of land or rock, called *Mount Sceberras*, which commanded them both. This place appeared to him to be very commodiously situated for the raising of a new city. The grand master would have been very desirous, in case the order could subsist in the island, to settle the convent in that place; but as the circumstances of the order at that time would not allow them to execute such a design, though judged to be so very useful, the grand master and council were obliged, in that infancy of things, to settle themselves in the castle of St. Angelo, the only place of defence that was in the island, and the knights dispersed themselves up and down the town, which is situated at the foot of the fort: this was their first residence. This town had no fortifications, and was commanded on all sides. The grand master built a wall round it, to prevent his being surprised by the corsairs: they since added flanks to it, with ressaults at certain distances, agreeable to the unevenness and declivity of the ground. The



grand master did not intend to continue long in that place, but was resolved, before he settled himself entirely there, to make an attempt upon Modon, a rich and populous city; and a circumstance, which gave him the greatest satisfaction, as its little distance from Rhodes, which the order might be able to surprise, in case a civil war should break out among the Turks, or even attack openly in other conjunctures. He designed, in case the affair of Modon should miscarry, and that the order should be obliged to continue at Malta, to build a new city upon that point of rock above-mentioned, which went by the name of *Mount Scceberras*. But the immense sums the order had spent for eight years together, for the subsistence of the knights and Rhodians in Italy; the different translations from Candia to Messina, from Messina to Civita Vecchia, from thence to Viterbo, from Viterbo to Nice, to Villa Franca, and other places in Italy; and even Sicily, where the knights, for their easier subsistence, were dispersed up and down, with the grand master's leave; so many cruising, voyages, journeys, transmigrations of a whole body of people, of which that colony was composed, had quite drained the treasury of the order, and would not allow the grand master to execute so great a project. He was even distasted with every thing he saw in Malta; the barrenness of the soil; their bread, which they were obliged to seek, as it were, as far as Sicily; the poverty of the inhabitants; their rustic and savage behaviour; no place of defence in case of an attack: such gloomy reflections as these afflicted him very sensibly, and awaked, with the utmost grief in his mind, the remembrance of Rhodes, so fruitful in corn, so rich by its fleets and armaments;

and moreover, the capital of five or six other islands or strong holds, the most inconsiderable of which was much better fortified than Malta. But as l'Isle Adam possessed a spirit of bravery and a greatness of soul, superior even to the most unhappy accidents of life, he generously took his resolutions at once; and without forgetting the enterprise of Modon, devoted all his cares to the building some houses for the knights to dwell in, in order to make their residence in the island more supportable. It was from this last establishment that they borrowed the name of Malta, instead of that of the knights of Rhodes, which they had made illustrious by a continual series of great actions during upwards of 200 years.

## BOOK X.

THE grand master had no sooner given the necessary orders for the defence of the island of Malta, than he crossed to that of Goza: he went all over it, visited those places where the corsairs might make descents, gave orders for the building of retrenchments, brought several pieces of cannon and ammunition and provisions into the castle, left a company of foot in it; and, having exhorted the inhabitants to preserve inviolably their fidelity to the order, he returned to Malta, and immediately bent all his thoughts upon Tripoli, that city of Africa, with which, as has been already seen, the order was so unwilling to be connected, on account of its distance and defenceless situation.

We before observed, that the Chevalier Sanguesse had been appointed governor of it by the

commissioners who took possession of it in the name of the order. The grand master, at the same time that he sent him a new reinforcement, confirmed him in that post, which could hardly have been filled by a more worthy personage; he was an ancient knight, who had signalized himself in the last siege of Rhodes by a great number of heroic actions, and who, by fighting under the orders of the grand master, during so long and so bloody a siege, had acquired the art of preserving such places as he should be intrusted with. This commander seeing himself greatly straitened in Tripoli by other neighbouring cities and towns, all of them inhabited by infidels, and people that had been formerly subject to the king of Tunis, often sent different parties against those Africans, who made incursions into their territories, and ravaged the country.

Among these several cities, inhabited by Mahometans, Gienzor and Tichiro, or Tachora, had withdrawn themselves for some years from the dominion of the kings of Tunis: the garrison of Tripoli used frequently to take several prisoners, and make a considerable booty, even to the very gates of those cities. The inhabitants of Gienzor, wearied out with the continual attempts of these troublesome neighbours, concluded a treaty with them; and Sanguesse, with the grand master's consent, and in consideration of a certain sum agreed upon between them, granted them a peace, and opened a free trade on that side.

The lord of Tachora, being more powerful than those of Gienzor, and master of a good port, would not so much as hear a word mentioned of a tribute. The territory of this *sheck*, or lord of Tachora, on that side which lay towards Tripoli, consisted in a

large plain, which extended itself within four leagues of that city towards the East. This spacious plain was full of villages, which furnished their lord with a considerable number of very brave horsemen and musketeers, whose chief business was robbing: these often engaged with the Maltese, and each party laid ambuscades for its antagonists. Things passed in this manner at first, with little loss on either side, if we except the death of the Chevalier de Harlai, of the language of France, occasioned by an excess of courage, and too little caution: he being cut to pieces, with all the soldiers under his command, by the Tachorizins, who had lain in ambush for him.

We should not have been so particular in our account of these inroads, so common between people that border upon another, and who are of a different religion, had not these petty wars afterwards given rise to others of much greater consequence, in which the reader will observe, that the arms of the knights of St. John were no less serviceable to the princes of Christendom in Africa than they had been before in Asia, and during the time that the order resided in Palestine, and afterwards at Rhodes.

It was now some time since the civil wars being kindled in the territories of Algiers and Tunis, the Ottoman Turks, or rather the corsairs under their name, in order to make their advantage of these divisions, had seized upon several places situated upon the coasts of Barbary: several knights, and those even who had discovered the greatest disinclination for taking upon themselves the defence of Malta, proposed, at that time, to the grand master, to turn all the efforts of the arms of the order on that side; and they represented to him, that it would be im-

possible for the order to preserve so weak a place as Tripoli was, especially as it had no territory belonging to it, unless they covered it with new conquests, and an extent of ground that might furnish subsistence for the garrison. This project was not without some foundation; but not to mention that the grand master, before engaging himself in this war, was very desirous of letting these infidels weaken and destroy one another, he, besides, had devoted all his thoughts to a design which had been formed for many years, and from the success of which he promised himself that the order would draw advantages that were much more considerable.

Modon at this time engrossed all his thoughts; it was the sole object of his desires, and every thing that might bring him nearer to Rhodes appeared like another Rhodes in his eyes, or, at least, as a means that might one day make it a more easy conquest; so that he resolved, before he would absolutely fix his residence in Malta, or engage his order to lay out those immense sums that must necessarily be employed before that island, which was open on all sides, could be put in a state of defence, to endeavour to surprise Modon, by the help of the intelligence he had in that place.

In this view he took into the order's pay a good number of soldiers, who had lately served at the siege of Florence. This siege the pope and emperor had undertaken in concert; and these princes, after having made themselves masters of that great city, had restored the Medicis to their authority in it. The chevalier Salviati, who was related to that pope, and prior of Rome, by the grand master's command, brought these forces to Malta, on board six galleys, well armed, three of which belonged to

the order; the viceroy of Sicily had lent the fourth; and James Grimaldi, a Genoese lord, and an excellent seaman, had hired two others, which belonged to him, at the rate of a thousand crowns *per month*, and it was agreed that he should command them in person as long as this expedition should last.

The grand master not being able to leave Malta, as its chief strength lay in his presence, named the prior of Rome general of the enterprise; and the chevalier de Boniface, bailiff of Manosque, was to command the fleet during the time that the general should be ashore, and employed in besieging Modon. These galleys were to be accompanied with brigantines of a different bulk, with men and ammunition on board; and two trading vessels loaded with planks, which they intended to employ for the execution of the enterprise, were entrusted to John Scandali, a Greek Christian, of the island of Zante, and son to one of the two renegadoes, and to Janni Necolo, who was also a Greek Christian, both of whom were known at Modon by the daily traffic which they carried on to that place.

Besides a great number of knights who embarked in this expedition, the Viscount Cigale, a famous privateer, and brother to the cardinal of that name, offered his service to the grand master, and accordingly joined the fleet of the order with two galleys well armed, that were his own, and which he commanded in person.

Before this armament set sail from the ports, several councils were held upon the execution of this enterprise; when, after a variety of projects, the grand master concluded upon this, that the galleys, brigantines, and other small vessels, should lie concealed along the coasts of the little island of Sapi-

enza, which lay opposite Modon; that towards the close of the evening they should bring up two trading vessels, freighted, in outward appearance, with timber and planks, under which a considerable number of knights and brave soldiers should lie concealed; that young Scandali, under pretence of desiring to come with his ship to an anchor, and trading there, and in concert with his father, should advance to the foot of the tower of the mole, which was about five hundred paces from the place, and that he should seize upon it; that young Scandali's associate should go to another side, at the entrance of the harbour, when, after having been visited, as a matter of form, by Quir Calojan, the other renegado, the director of the customs, he should retire in the dark to his house; that the next day, at the opening of the gate, the soldiers, which lay concealed in the two brigantines, should unite in one body, in order to make themselves masters of that gate; that a cannon should immediately be fired, to give notice of it to the general, who should leave the island of Sapienza that very moment, should put his forces on board, and throw himself into the place through that gate which should be seized.

The prior of Rome, who was at the head of this expedition, set sail from the port of Malta on the seventeenth of August, 1531; and, after having sailed propitiously for seven days together, chose to put in at the isle of Sapienza during the night-time. He hid his little fleet in the road which was the safest of the whole island, and the least exposed; when, having taken down the flags and masts of his galleys, he sent Statigulo and Marquet, the two Rhodians above-mentioned, to Modon, to see whether the two renegadoes had not changed their

inclinations, and whether they were still masters of their posts, and capable of keeping their word. The two Rhodians entered Modon, disguised like merchants, and had an interview with the two renegadoes; when, having found them fixed and resolved, immoveable, and even impatient to signalize themselves in the execution of that enterprise, they engaged them to go over with them into the island of Sapienza, to confer with the prior of Rome upon that subject. This general gave them a very civil reception, and having confirmed to them, in the grand master's name, the promises of a splendid reward, which the two Rhodians had made to them, he started several difficulties, to all which they returned very satisfactory answers. They added, that all lay in the dispatch that should be made in the execution; and in order to make Salviati resolve upon it at once, they represented to him, that the sole reason of the order's failing in its attempt upon Rhodes, was its dilatoriness and excess of caution: but this general, fearing a double intelligence, and that those Greeks, after having renounced the faith, would not scruple to betray and deliver him up to the Turks, required them, before he engaged himself further in that affair, to carry to Modon the commander Sciatese, a Roman, the chevalier de Broc, a Frenchman of the language of Provence, and signior James Grimaldi; in order that, as they would be upon the spot, they would all three be able to judge, whether the enterprise might be undertaken with safety, and afterwards agree among themselves upon the final measures for landing the troops, and the attacking the place.

These two renegadoes, in company with the knights, disguised like merchants, arrived in the



port of Modon in the evening, as if they were returned from the island of Sapienza, upon some affairs relating to their traffic. Scandali, the father, who commanded in the tower of the mole, under pretence of giving these pretended merchants a supper there, showed them how easily they might make themselves masters of it; and, with the same view, they went and lay at the other renegado's house, which was near the city gate, and of which he had free entrance, in quality of director of the customs. The knights appeared satisfied with the disposition of the two Greeks; and then the son of Scandali, a Christian, and who, as was already observed, would not apostatise as his father had done, brought them back the next day to the island of Sapienza.

The knights, at their return, declared to the general, that their opinion was, the two renegados were sincere in the affair; but that, after all, a man could not be too cautious and circumspect, when he had to deal with traitors; that they even foresaw great difficulties in the execution of that enterprise; that notwithstanding Scandali commanded in the tower of the mole, yet the janizaries, who were upon guard there, would not fail, upon the least stir that should be made, to take up arms against them; that upon the noise, which is unavoidable in occasions of that nature, and on the notice which the governor of Modon would receive of it, he would immediately order all the city gates to be shut; and that the garrison and the inhabitants would soon be able to repulse all such as should attack them. These difficulties, and even those which in such occasions can scarce ever be foreseen, suspended for some time the desire the

general had of attempting this enterprise. Young Scandali, who saw through part of the general's suspicions, told him, that the only reason of his father's sending for him from Zante, and making him privy to that design, was to put him into his hands by way of hostage, till such time as he should have performed his promise, and that he desired no other than to continue on board his galleys; that as for the janizaries in the tower of the mole, who were very few in number, his father would find a method to send them at a distance, under various pretences, and that he resolved to make them drunk, and by that means prevent their being able to oppose the entrance of the knights into the tower; moreover, that his father and his associate never intended to carry the place by open force; that it would be impossible for them to succeed any other way than by surprise; that his only fear was, that the suspicion of the general had been owing to the great ease with which it might be executed. In fine, this young man, whose breast glowed with zeal and bravery, showed them how easy as well as advantageous it would be, to make their conquest sure; so that the whole council resolved to continue no longer in suspense, and accordingly sent young Scandali to his father, to assure him that they would make their attempt that very evening.

With this view the general embarked several knights, and a considerable number of soldiers, on board two feluccas, who were concealed under the planks with which those vessels seemed to be freighted, and which were designed to assist the troops, that were on board the galleys, in their landing. Stefi Marquet, the Rhodian, who had been so serviceable to Bosio, in drawing up the plan

of that conspiracy, was on board the first brigantine, which in those days was called a Grips, and advanced to the entrance of the port in the evening. Calojan, who had the guard of it, in quality of director of the customs, pretending not to know him, went on board his ship; when, after having visited it for form's sake, and to prevent all suspicion, he made his report thereof to the governor, telling him that it was a small vessel loaded with planks, which he said a merchant was coming to sell to some workmen in the city; upon which the governor gave him leave to admit her in.

The men who were hid in the felucca, in the disguise of sailors, befriended by the darkness, and under the pretence of their being obliged to set out very early the next morning, put ashore these planks, and other pieces of wood, with which they formed a kind of bridge opposite to that gate of the city which they intended to surprise, in order to assist the landing of the forces that were on board the galleys; after which they retired into the house of the renegado, where they spent the rest of the night.

Young Scandali, who was in the other felucca, came much about the same time, and cast anchor at the point of the tower; and as his father commanded in it, and he himself came frequently thither from the isle of Zante, where he inhabited, the janizaries of the tower, with whom he was very familiar, made no scruple to admit him; and accordingly he entered this tower in company with eight other Greeks in a Turkish dress, who spoke that language fluently, and who pretended to be soldiers belonging to the garrison of Lepanto and Patras. His father, as had been concerted, dispersed some

of his guards upon different commissions, and invited the rest to supper. In the midst of their gaiety and good cheer, they gave them an excellent Greek wine to drink, which, he said, his son had brought him in his felucca. The real Turks, who thirsted after that liquor with the greater eagerness, as they were prohibited to drink it by their law, poured it down in great quantities, and were soon drunk. The Greek Christians, disguised like janizaries, taking their advantage of that lethargic drowsiness that usually attends upon drunkenness, let into the tower all those knights and soldiers that lay concealed in the brigantine; when they cut the throats of some of the Turks, bound others, made themselves masters of the tower, all which was done during the silence of the night, without the least noise, insomuch that the governor, whose house was about five hundred paces from the tower, had not the least notice of it.

On the other side, the renegado Calojan, at day-break, and at the opening of the gate, presented himself at it with some knights, disguised like sailors, and who had spent the night in his house; they made a halt at the gate, in order to give time to the other soldiers, who were hid in the two brigantines, to advance forwards; when immediately the two companies joined in a body, making in all about three hundred men. Upon their approach, the pretended sailors, who stood at the entry of the port, drew their swords, fell upon the guards, cut some of them to pieces; when the main body advancing up, seized on the gate, and imagined the city was their own. Immediately a cannon was fired by way of signal to the general, that he should advance immediately with his galleys; during which,

the Christian forces, instead of marching directly up to the castle, where the governor had withdrawn himself, leaving only a guard at the city gate, threw themselves into those houses that stood nearest to it, in order to plunder them; they here committed all the outrages usual on such occasions, and in places taken by surprise, or carried by storm or sword in hand. The inhabitants, in order to shun the first fury of the soldiers, fled for shelter into the castle, when the governor put weapons into their hands; and having advice that there was but a very small number of the Christians, and that the greatest part of them were roving up and down in search of plunder, he made a sally at the head of his garrison, and of the inhabitants, charged briskly these plunderers, who were dispersed, and killed several at the first onset: when their common danger uniting them again in one body, they rallied, made head, and endeavoured to maintain themselves in their several posts, till such time as the galleys should come up. Both parties fought with equal fury; the knights, who saw every moment the bravest of their troops drop, gave themselves over for lost, as no reinforcement arrived: but they did not know that a very high and contrary wind had hindered the general from hearing the signal; insomuch that it was noon before he had notice, by a bark, which young Scandali dispatched to him, that the knights were got into the city, and engaged with the garrison of the castle. Immediately he hastened to the place, and with as much speed as the crew of his galleys could possibly make, landed without the least obstacle; and after having, according to the rules of war, left a body of men under the command of the Chevalier d'Humieres to guard the galleys, and in the

tower of the mole, he advanced at the head of the body under his command, joined those who were fighting with the governor and the garrison; when immediately his bravery and the superior number of his forces soon obliged the governor to take refuge in the castle. As it was impossible to force him there without artillery, he sent for several pieces of cannon from on board his galleys; but whilst they were employing themselves in fetching it from thence, the governor was succoured: for no sooner had he seen the first body of knights in the place, than he dispatched couriers to the neighbouring cities, and to the governor of the province, to give him notice of the descent and attack of the Christians. Happily for the governor of the castle, the Sangiac of the province was at the head of a considerable body of troops, which, by Solyman's order, he was immediately to march to the frontiers of Hungary, where the Grand Seignior was then making war. The Sangiac, who was encamped not far from Modon, at the first news he heard of the enterprise of the knights, drew out some troops of horse for that place, where they arrived with the utmost diligence, and were let into the castle by a gate that lay towards the country, at the same time that the Turkish general advanced himself at the head of six thousand foot. The governor of the place having ordered his cavalry to dismount, in order to bring them sooner to an engagement, sallied out at their head, and charged the knights with his whole garrison. Though the prior of Rome saw that the infidels were reinforced, he nevertheless stood their attack with the greatest courage; when cutting to pieces the bravest of their horsemen, and taking several of them prisoners, he forced the rest

to shelter themselves behind the fortifications of the castle. Nevertheless, being informed by the prisoners he had taken, that the Sangiac would infallibly be at Modon before sun set, and not having forced enough to make head against him, and besiege the place in form, and as he had not expected success in his enterprise but from the advantage of a surprise, he saw himself, so contrary to his desires, reduced to the necessity of returning on board his ships, which gave him the greatest uneasiness.

But before he commanded a retreat to be sounded, and having blocked up the ports of the castle by a good retrenchment, he abandoned the whole city to be plundered by the soldiers. The richest houses in it were now become their prey; nay, the knights themselves, and the principal officers, shared in this not very honourable though profitable employment. There is no expressing the riches they carried off out of this city; but that which gave the inhabitants still greater pain, was their transporting on board their galleys or ships, upwards of eight hundred married women and maidens, whom they made prisoners and slaves. Among these ladies of Modon, chance having thrown a young Turkish woman of exquisite beauty into the hands of the viscount of Cicala, he carried her to Messina, had her baptized, made her his wife, and had a son by her, Scipio Cicala by name, whom a variety of adventures brought afterwards to Constantinople, where turning Mahometan, and signalizing himself by his bravery, he attained to the dignity of general, when he revenged the Turks for the sack of Modon. The knights abandoned the city a little before sun-set, and embarked with all the forces, without meeting with the least opposition, or sustaining the least loss, if

we do not account the expense of that armament as a very considerable one; which was not any way compensated by the plunder of the city of Modon, that fell only into private hands.

The grand master, upon the return of his galleys, was informed of the ill success of the enterprise, which gave him great uneasiness; but as his courage had been always superior to the most adverse revolutions of fortune, he from that time judged that Providence had decreed that his order should settle at Malta, and thereupon turned all his thoughts to the fortifying of that island, and to put it in a condition to brave the insults and incursions of the corsairs.

Whilst he was entirely taken up with these cares, so worthy a sovereign prince, there happened another accident, which put his patience and resolution to a fresh trial. Baltazar Walkirk, bishop of Malta, being dead, the emperor was to name the person who was to fill that dignity; and the order, pursuant to the treaty made with that prince, was to propose three ecclesiastics to him, one of which at least was to be chosen from among his subjects. The grand master and council presented to the viceroy of Sicily, brother Pontus Laurencin, of the language of Auvergne; brother Thomas Bosio, an Italian, and vice-chancellor of the order; and brother Dominic Cubelle, of the language of Arragon, and the emperor's vassal. The grand master, to recompense in the person of Thomas Bosio the great merit of the commander his brother, and the important services which he had done to the order, would have been very well pleased that the emperor's choice had fallen upon him; and accordingly acquainted the pope with his views. This pontiff, to whom the com-



mander in his lifetime had been one of his privy chamberlains, and of whose services he had always retained a grateful remembrance, wrote to this prince upon that subject; and not only told his ambassador, that he should think himself very much obliged to the emperor, if he would declare in Bosio's favour, but also gave orders to signior Salviati, who was his relation, and the prior of Rome's father, to write in his name to cardinal Campejes, who was at that time in the emperor's court, in quality of legate *a latere*, to be very earnest in soliciting for that nomination. The emperor gave a very agreeable reception to these good offices of his holiness, and ordered his ambassador, who resided at Rome, to assure him, that he would give him in a little time all the satisfaction he could wish for, with respect to the bishoprick of Malta. But this prince, who never bestowed his favours but with the utmost circumspection, whether it were that he intended to obtain several others from the pope, or that he had not time to attend to this affair, deferred the nomination of Bosio. But at last, after he had engaged the pope and the order in a league against the Turks, he then, and not before, declared publicly the nomination of Bosio to the bishoprick of Malta; when he gave the instrument of it to the ambassador of the order who resided at that time at his court.

This minister being very sensible that this nomination would give the grand master no small satisfaction, dispatched a courier with the instrument of it. The grand master received it with great demonstrations of joy, which he shared with the bishop elect, to whom he gave the first account he had received of his nomination to that dignity. All the knights that were at that time in the island, congra-

tulated one another ; and as the pontificate and the empire had equally contributed to this election, they looked upon that affair as happily ended. The grand master, in order to have it sealed as it were, and completely concluded, would have Bosio take out his bulls himself, and get himself consecrated at Rome : he likewise had him accompanied by an ambassador extraordinary, whom he dispatched to the pope, to thank him for the continuation of his favour and kindness to the order ; and the ambassador was moreover ordered at the same time to present the bishop elect to his holiness.

Both being arrived at Rome demanded an audience of the pope, which they obtained. The ambassador, when he presented Bosio, told the pope, that he was ordered by the grand master and council to thank him for all his good offices with the emperor, and for his having engaged the prince to prefer Bosio to one of his subjects. But how greatly was this minister, and he who accompanied him, surprised, when he heard the pope utter the following words : that the church of Malta was already provided with a pastor : that he had already named cardinal Ghinucci to that bishopric ; that he could not possibly have given a more illustrious testimony of his constant and unalterable affection to the order than by filling that dignity with one of the most worthy men in the church, and a cardinal of so great merit ; that his eminency was going to send a grand vicar to Malta, to take possession of that dignity in his name ; and that he hoped he would not meet with the least obstacle or opposition in it.

Though the ambassador was thunderstruck, as it were, with a discourse which he so little expected, he nevertheless answered him, that the grand

master and council would ever pay the highest deference and submission to his orders; but, continued he, the only difficulty in this affair is with respect to the emperor, whom alone it concerns, and the manner in which he may take so surprising a change. Upon which the pope, raising his voice, replied, "The right of providing for that church, ever since the property of that island devolved to other owners, has been lodged in us, and not in Charles:" and thereupon dismissed the ambassador and Bosio, who accordingly withdrew in the deepest vexation of mind, and covered with shame and confusion.

The grand master himself was not less surprised and afflicted. His constancy wanted, as it were, no more than this last trial; but he bore it with his usual steadiness and resolution. In order to get clear of so ticklish an affair, and to hold the scales even between the two powers, with both whom his interest obliged him to keep equal measures, he thought proper, before he himself took notice of the affair, to see how the emperor would act in it. He indeed could not possibly have taken a more judicious step; for Charles V. who found that his honour and dignity were struck at by the pope's conduct, made Bosio's affair his own. This prince, though so guarded in all his expressions, was not master enough of himself to prevent his resentments from breaking out. Sangro, one of his historians, pretends, that in the first emotions of his rage and indignation he was heard to say, that he had never reposed any confidence in that pope, and that because he had observed there was always some latent craft in all his actions; and that the emperor added, he then owned to his shame, that he had been overreached in that affair, which was owing to his not

having sufficiently mistrusted the eager and importunate manner, in outward appearance, in which the pope himself solicited for the nomination of Bosio. It is probable that the uneasiness Charles V. felt, to find himself bubbled by the pope in an art wherein he imagined he was so greatly his superior, might have drawn those bitter complaints from him. But whatever he might say, which perhaps might be to soothe his resentments, it appears, by the testimonies of all historians, that the pope in his solicitations acted at first with great sincerity. His change of mind was not the result of any premeditated design, but it is pretended that the only reason of the pope's supplanting the emperor was to revenge himself for his deferring so long to nominate Bosio; and that in the uneasiness it gave him, he could not forbear crying out, with relation to that affair, at a time when he was complaining about it to some cardinals, "That when a sovereign pontiff stooped so low as to sue and intreat, his intreaties and offices ought to be received as commands." Others maintain, that without seeking in this change for such a refinement of vengeance, of which his genius was not over capable, this pope had reflected, or that his ministers had made him take notice, that, in consideration of the great esteem and credit which most of the knights enjoyed in all the courts of Europe, and, above all, of that great height of power to which that military order had raised itself, it no way suited the interests of the holy see, that the emperor, and the kings of Sicily, his successors, should reserve to themselves the right of nominating to the bishopric of Malta, which gave the persons so nominated a privilege of entering into the council, and even the first seat in it, after that of the

grand master ; that a cunning and intriguing bishop, taking his advantage of the troubles which frequently disturbed Italy, might engage the knights in parties opposite to those of the pope : in a word, that they ought never to suffer a religious order, that was continually in arms, that lay so near Italy, and which had forces and a fleet at its command, to be dependent on any other power than that of the holy see.

Whatever might have been his motive, which was not without some foundation ; and whatever instances the emperor might make to oblige the pope to desist from the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci, this pontiff was fixed and immoveable upon that article, at the same time that he appeared to be in the most perfect good understanding with Charles V. ; and that which might induce us to believe that his steadiness was not the result of resentment is, that lying at the point of death, and in those precious moments which decide our fate to all eternity, and in which all the passions vanish and disappear, he sent for cardinal Caraffa, whom he knew to be a zealous adherer to the interests of the holy see, and charged him to represent to his successor, that he was obliged in conscience to maintain strenuously the nomination he had made of Ghinucci. But as the last desires and intentions of even the most absolute monarchs are generally buried with them in their graves, Paul III. who succeeded Clement, having received letters from the emperor, written in the most urgent terms, and being, moreover, desirous, for the sake of his own private interest, with respect to his family, to keep in favour with so powerful a prince, he resolved to give him satisfaction. Accordingly they began to treat of the affair, when an expedient

was found out to reconcile the interests of the two competitors. Bosio, after having prosecuted his affair for three years together, and spent immense sums in the court of Rome, and in suing for the emperor's favour, at last obtained his bulls, but upon condition of paying the cardinal an annual pension of nine thousand livres; and the emperor, who imagined he was obliged in honour to make Bosio enjoy the bishopric of Malta in all its latitude, since he had procured it for him, in order to indemnify him for the pension, gave him an abbey in Sicily of the like value. Notwithstanding that this affair was not ended till the pontificate of Paul III. A. D. 1536, I imagined myself obliged to anticipate the conclusion of it for the sake of the reader, to prevent our being obliged to return to the same incident by digressions, which often confound and interrupt the thread of the narration.

In the mean time, the steadiness and resolution which Clement had displayed in maintaining the nomination of cardinal Ghinucci, had not any way cooled the zeal he had discovered against the infidels. Accordingly he joined a good number of his galleys to those of the emperor; and writing a brief, couched in the most urgent terms, to the grand master, this prince immediately put to sea the great carrack, with the galleys and ships of the order for his quota. We may justly affirm, that the order did not want these exhortations from the pontiff, to induce it to put to sea these armaments: for the knights, agreeable to the spirit of their institution, and out of gratitude for the favours they had received from Charles V. were always ready to furnish him with the most powerful succours, whenever war was to be made against the infidels. There

were few engagements, as will be seen in the sequel, either in Asia or Africa, wherein the standards of St. John were not seen waving in the emperor's army.

August the 8th, this squadron joined the emperor's fleet commanded by the famous Andrew Doria, Prince of Melphi. That of the Turks, consisting of seventy sail, was at that time in the gulf of Larta, or de la Prevesa. Doria, in his course, met with sixty Venetian galleys near Zante; when he proposed to Vincent Capello, a noble Venetian, who was general of them, the joining of their fleets, after which they should force Gallipoli, and carry their arms as far as Constantinople, which they would find drained of its ordinary garrison; Solyman, he said, having drawn it from thence to reinforce the army which he commanded in person upon the frontiers of Hungary. But the Venetians, who were so very careful not to give any umbrage to the Turks, that they often suffered themselves to be insulted, without daring so much as to resent it, excused themselves from sharing in this enterprise, by saying, that they had promised the grand seignior to be neuter in this war. The Christian fleet being at that time between the islands of Sapienza and Modon, they proposed the besieging of the latter. The prior of Rome and the knights declared themselves for that opinion, who would have been very glad to attempt by open force, the conquest of a place which they had failed to surprise the year before. But the soldiers, who had little else for their pay but what they might get by plunder, discovered the utmost reluctance for that enterprise; and did not scruple to say, and that publicly enough, that they would not expose their lives ir

attacking so strong a place, which the knights had gleaned so thoroughly the year before, that they had left nothing to indemnify the victorious for all their toil. The council of war thought themselves obliged to wink at discourses, which they would have punished had the soldiers been duly paid; and thereupon resolved upon the siege of Coron, a place whose fortifications were much weaker than those of Modon, and which was not above twelve miles distant from it by land.

Coron or Corona; the ancient *Chæroneæ*, the country of Plutarch, that great philosopher and celebrated historian, is situated to the left of Cape Gallo, and is in the form of a scalene triangle, or that whose sides are unequal: one of the angles looks towards a craggy rock, the other two are seen from the gulf of Coron, which serves almost as a port to the tower; but these angles are not washed by the waves, and one may easily, by coasting along them, go round this fortress, which was surrounded with a wall built after the antique fashion, of no great strength, but flanked with six towers of ancient structure.

Doria having taken a view of its situation, landed his troops, after which he brought up his galleys, and placed them behind his high built ships, particularly the great carrack of the order, which, firing over the galleys, beat down most of the fortifications of the place. The artillery of those ships, and two batteries which they had raised on shore, having made a wide breach, the count of Sarno, and Mendoza, colonel of a Spanish regiment, were commanded to attempt a storm, which accordingly they did with the utmost bravery; nor did they meet with less courage in the Turks, who killed three



hundred of their soldiers, with several officers, and wounded a much greater number. The priors of Rome, and Anvergne, who advanced to their succour, supplied their places: they were both come from on board the great carrack, at the head of two hundred knights, and five hundred soldiers in the order's pay. This second assault was full as bloody as the first. Unhappily for the besiegers, their ladders were too short for the height of the walls, so that the knights were forced, in order to gain the top of the breach, to catch hold of the wall, and to climb it by main strength of their hands and feet.

In this disadvantageous situation they found themselves exposed to the fire of the small arms, and annoyed by the cross-bows; nor were stones, fire-works, and scalding oil spared on this occasion. Great numbers of them lost their lives by these different weapons; but as they had all taken a resolution of being cut to pieces at the foot of the walls, rather than give over the storm, after having called on the name of St. John, which was their watchword, they pushed forward with so much fury, and crowded so fast one upon another, that they at last lifted up the foremost to the top of the breach, when they made themselves masters of it, and planted the great standard of the order upon it. The armies, both at sea and land, gave a shout of joy at sight of this signal of victory. These acclamations induced the besieged to believe that the Christians were masters of the place; upon which, such of the inhabitants as were still intrenched in different parts of the city, and the garrison of the castle, hung out a white flag, which was soon followed by a capitulation. The native Turks and their houses

were spared; but those of the Jews were abandoned to the soldiers. After this Doria went and besieged Patras, which he took; at the same time that the galleys of the order made themselves masters of the castle of Ardimel, and other forts situated along the coast, which made but very little resistance. After this expedition, as the winter was approaching, the different squadrons, of which the Christian fleet was composed, separated, and retired into their respective ports.

The year following the Turks, who did not care to be losers, raised a powerful armament to recover Coron; and, as soon as the season permitted them to keep the sea, a famous corsair, named The Moor, by Solyman's order, blocked up that place with four great galleys, at the same time that another Turkish general besieged it by land.

Doria was no sooner informed of their designs, than he immediately put to sea, and was reinforced by the pope's galleys, and those of the order, commanded by the prior of Rome. The Christian fleet advanced in good order against the infidels; the soldiers called out aloud for battle; but Doria, who had as much bravery as experience, whether it were from prudential motives, or in order to perpetuate himself in the command, ever avoided coming to a decisive battle; and used frequently to say, that he never loved to be in those engagements wherein fortune had a greater share than the conduct of the general. All he designed was, to throw succours into the place, and afterwards retire: with this view he placed the great carrack of Malta at the head of his fleet, from whence, as from a fort or citadel, he mauled the Turks prodigiously. He then gave orders to the captains under his imme-

diate command, to take advantage of the fire and smoke during the engagement, to run several barks full of soldiers and ammunition into the place; but this design was so ill executed, that these small vessels were suddenly surrounded with the Turkish galleys. On this the Christians were seized with a panic; some threw themselves into the main body of the army; others, who got ashore, imagined they should more easily avoid the fury of the infidels by throwing themselves into their boats; but they crowded in such great numbers, and with such violent precipitation, that they sunk to the bottom, and thus hastened their death by endeavouring to fly from it.

The Turks having thus become masters of part of the convoy, fell afterwards upon the great ships. The combat was now become general; galleys attacked galleys, and ships encountered ships. Doria on one side, and the prior of Rome on the other, come up to the assistance of such as were most briskly attacked; their presence inspires the soldiers with fresh courage, and restores order in the fleet. Fortune soon shifts sides; the Christians recover their small vessels, take several from the Turks; and, moreover, those infidels having thrown themselves sword in hand into a ship belonging to the order, and being already masters of the upper deck, another Maltese ship comes up, which disengages that belonging to the order, and making the assailants prisoners, loads them with the very chains which they had designed for those knights.

In fine, this vast crowd of masts begins to thin by degrees; the great noise becomes less stunning by the death of some, and the flight of others. The victorious Doria throws provisions into Coron, sets

sail again, pursues the infidels, and seeks for fresh opportunities to immortalize his name.

The squadron of the order being recalled by the grand master, separated from the body of the Christian fleet, and returned into the ports; Malta, Tripoli, the coasts of Naples and Sicily, being equally threatened by Barbarossa, captain of the corsairs of Barbary, who, with eighty-two galleys, scoured those seas, and carried terror and dread into all those places, without any one knowing where the storm would fall. As the old city of Malta was but poorly fortified, and the town, where the convent resided, was commanded from several places, and, as the castle of St. Angelo was the only place it could retire to, the council was of opinion, that they should leave only three hundred knights to defend it; that the grand master should retire into Sicily, and transport thither the convent, the relics, the church ornaments, and the records and treasures of the order. But that generous old man bravely rejected this advice, saying, "I have never yet fled from the enemies of the cross, and the world shall never see me set so bad an example to all my religious, only for the sake of preserving the remains of a languishing life." Upon which he immediately sent a hundred knights, with some companies of foot, into that tower, which is called the Notable City; and raised, as quick as possible, and as well as the time would allow, several advanced works to the tower of the town. All the inhabitants of the island, by the grand master's orders, took up arms; and, that the relics and records of the order might be out of danger, he sent them to Sicily, where they were preserved with the greatest care. Having thus taken all these prudent measures, he waited

with the utmost resolution the arrival of the Barbarians: but their general took another course; he returned to Africa, where he made some efforts, which will be mentioned hereafter.

During this interval which the infidels allowed, the grand master, who attended as much to the preservation of strict discipline as to the defence of the state, took the advantage of summoning a general chapter. Since the loss of Rhodes, and during the space of eight years, in which the order, destitute of a settled habitation, had wandered up and down in several places, several abuses had crept into their constitution, which he thought fit to remedy. The knights, on their first arrival at Malta, had accommodated themselves in separate houses, in different quarters of the town, and other places in the island, in opposition to the custom of the order, and that which had been observed at Rhodes, where there was one quarter of the city, called Collachio, which was inhabited by the knights only, and where none of the laity were allowed to dwell. The grand master, in concert with the chapter, restored so prudent a regulation in Malta; so that all the knights were obliged to have their dwellings near him, and under the eye, as it were, of so exact and vigilant a superior. It was from the same spirit of religion, that they forbade the wearing of too pompous habits, so opposite to that modesty and simplicity which shines with so much lustre in a religious; and so far did they carry the severity of this regulation against every thing that had the least air of a vain and ostentatious distinction, as to forbid all such commanders as were grand crosses to wear them out of Malta; and they were not allowed to adorn themselves with them, but on that

of the order.

From these particular regulations they proceeded to the most important affairs of government. The chapter, in a body, caused the treaty made with the emperor, relating to the establishment of the order in the island of Malta, to be represented to them, and confirmed it by a solemn act. They admit the appeals from the common council to a full council, that is to say, into which they admitted, besides the great crosses, two of the most ancient knights of each language; but it was agreed, that the appeal from this last council should have no suspensive effect, and that the sentences, which should be pronounced from this tribunal, should be executed but by patent only, notwithstanding the appeal to the general chapter.

As the order was involved in very great expences; as it maintained six or seven galleys, without reckoning the high-built ships and brigantines; as it kept forces in the island of Malta, of Goza and Tripoli, in its pay; as they were obliged to support the people who had come with them from Rhodes, and to build a city and an infirmary, the chapter thought proper to augment the responsions upon the commandries of the order; and they besought the grand master, whom they knew to be entirely disinterested, to continue the care he took of the administration of the revenue.

The chapter ended with this last regulation; the assembling of which would have been very advantageous to the order, had not a disorder broke out towards the conclusion of it, or a little after, in which some of the languages engaging, came to

blows, and raised a tumult and a scandal, which gave the highest uneasiness to the grand master, and to the whole body of the order.

The subject of this quarrel arose from a private dispute, which happened between a Florentine gentleman, a layman, one of the prior of Rome's domestics, and a young French knight, nephew to the commander Servier, of the language of Provence. They fought, and the French knight was slain. The uncle of the deceased, who pretended that the Florentine had used foul play in the duel, put himself at the head of his friends, and went in search of him; when having met him, attended in like manner with some other gentlemen of the prior's dependents, they fell upon them, wounded several, and obliged them to fly for their lives, and take sanctuary in the palace of their patron.

This nobleman, who was immensely rich, a kinsman, and, as others say, nephew to the pope, and general of his galleys and those of the order, had no less than threescore persons, who were either lay-gentlemen or Italian knights, in his service. These immediately armed, and rushed out to revenge their countryman; and without making any distinction between the languages of France, fell with the utmost fury upon all such Frenchmen as they met: they killed some, wounded several others, and raised a private quarrel to an open and declared war between the two nations. The knights of the languages of Auvergne and of France, amazed and enraged at such an insult, joined themselves to those of Provence. The whole nation met, and united at the house of the chevalier de Bleville, in order to take vengeance for that outrage. But the assembly, before they carried their resentments to a greater

height, sent deputies to the grand master to sue for justice from his hands. Accordingly the grand master informed the prior of Rome of their complaints, and ordered him at the same time to punish the guilty.

Salviati, proud of his being related to the reigning pontiff, and who looked upon himself as another grand master, contented himself with putting the most criminal of his gentlemen under an arrest, on board his admiral galley, and sent word to the injured languages, to acquaint them that he would do them justice after he had inquired into the affair, thinking this sufficient satisfaction. This haughty manner of proceeding, so opposite to the genius of so noble a republic, the several members of which thought themselves upon the same level, rekindled the resentments of the French knights. The prior's answer appeared to them to be no more than a mere evasion, and purposely calculated to elude their just complaints; and they did not so much consider the seizing of the criminals in the light of an imprisonment, as a means which that prior made use of to screen them from the authority of the laws, the jurisdiction of the council, and the judges of the order: insomuch, that without consulting either themselves, the order, or the duties of true religious, they rushed out well armed, threw themselves into the prior's galley, made themselves masters of it, and, in the rage of their resentment, stabbed four of the prior's gentlemen who were under an arrest, who had either killed or wounded their companions; and proud of the shameful honour of a revenge so unworthy of their profession, they, after this sanguinary execution, came from on board the admiral



galley, as it were in triumph, and retired to their respective inns.

The prior, exasperated at the massacre of his gentlemen, called all the knights of the language of Italy about him, and by his emissaries gained over to his interests the two languages of Spain, viz. Arragon and Castile, who declared in his favour, and came armed to his assistance. The French, who were still in a body, hearing of this confederacy, issued from their inns, and advanced to the prior's house in search of their enemies; these plied them with their musket-shot, and were answered by as brisk a fire. A disorder like this had never happened in the order ever since its foundation; there was a dreadful tumult in that quarter of the city: in vain the grand master ordered them to retire; no command was obeyed; no obedience was shown; discord reigned in every quarter of the city; each party obeyed no orders but such as fury, or the transports of a mad passion inspired. They continued to fire on all sides; and the prior, having sent for some pieces of artillery from on board his galleys, the French on their side brought a piece of cannon, which they levelled against his palace gate, in order to beat it to pieces: and night, which was coming on, heightened the disorder and confusion. The grand master, vexed to the soul to see his knights fighting against one another, was for going out, and trying whether his presence might not have the power to check the mutineers. But the council, fearing lest this venerable old man, in the darkness of the night, and in the midst of so dreadful a tumult, should happen to be wounded, conjured him to remain in his palace, and sent in his stead, at the head of the garrison of the castle, the

than his dignity. This nobleman, artfully mixing just reproaches with the softest and most engaging expressions, brought both parties to hear him; after which he obliged them both to lay down their arms. They all now dispersed; the night calmed their fury and animosity, and shame and confusion arose with the dawn. But the grand master did not think proper to suffer the authors of a tumult, that gave so ill a precedent, to go unpunished; and, according to Bosio, they threw into the sea some of the most headstrong and stubborn, who refused to acknowledge their crime, and were capable of perpetrating fresh ones and renewing the sedition.

How just soever this chastisement might be, the grand master was as much concerned at the punishment he had been obliged to inflict as at the crime. This threw him into a fit of sickness, when he lamented, as the greatest misfortune that had ever befallen him, the having survived the loss of Rhodes, only to be a melancholy witness of the violence and rebellion of his religious. The fear of worse still to come, the pride and haughtiness of his knights, disguised under the name of courage; and the luxury and effeminacy of others, the unhappy fruits of the most criminal passions, which, in spite of his example, and the severity of his discipline, had already crept into the order: all these circumstances united threw this great man into a deep melancholy; he now only languished away the poor remains of life, and the melancholy news he continually received from England, the consequences of which he foresaw would be fatal to the order, brought him insensibly to his grave.

Henry VIII., as was already observed in the ninth book, then reigned in that island. This prince had married Catharine of Arragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, prince of Wales, (having obtained a dispensation from pope Julius II. to that purpose,) and had now lived eighteen years with the queen his wife, in the sweetest union and most perfect harmony, when an inordinate passion for a young English lady raised some scruples in his mind with respect to the validity of his marriage; and as if, in the midst of the transports of his passion, his conscience had been touched, he at last made use of it as a pretext to justify his divorce with the queen.

This princess, being possessed of very few charms, the too dangerous attractions of Anna Bullen easily persuaded Henry that the dispensation was not valid; he was a king, and, therefore, did not want either servile courtiers, or mercenary learned men, who flattered him in his error. The affair was carried to Rome, and before the pope's tribunal; the steady refusal of Clement VII. to approve the pretences for his divorce, made this imperious and passionate prince rebel against the authority of the holy see. As he found he would never obtain the favour he so earnestly sued for, he determined to do without it; and he imagined that he should soonest effect it, by abolishing the authority of the pontiff in his dominions. He went farther; for, in concert with the parliament, which he had the dexterity to make a party in this affair, he invested himself with that spiritual power, and was not ashamed to make himself be declared the supreme head of the church of England by act of parliament, in order to free himself from the obligation of submitting to the judgment of the visible head of the universal

church, which refused to disunite what God had joined together.

Henry, once so wise and understanding a prince, but now hurried away by the transports of his passion, persecuted with the utmost cruelty all such of his subjects as refused to adore the vain phantom of his supremacy. Prelates, ecclesiastics, religious, laymen, all lost their lives for refusing to subscribe to the double divorce he had just made with the catholic church, and Catharine of Arragon, his lawful wife. The crime of high-treason, which, under evil princes, is often the crime of the innocent, supplied all those pretences which were wanting to bring them to destruction. The parliament, which Henry had artfully prevailed upon to be the minister of his passions, proscribed the illustrious Pole; a man more distinguished by his piety and his profound erudition than by his royal extraction, which he drew from the Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

The king of England had eagerly sought his approbation, and endeavoured to induce him to write in favour of his errors; but he was not to be moved either by the promises or menaces of this prince: he represented to him, with the greatest steadiness and intrepidity, the injustice of his new pretensions. This prince, who was ambitious of the reputation of being a lover of truth, while he wished for the satisfaction of never hearing it, could not pardon him this liberty. Pole, that he might not be exposed to his resentment, withdrew to Rome, when the pope took him under his protection, and honored the sacred college, by raising him to the dignity of a cardinal.

Henry imputed this eminent title to him as a

crime; he set a price upon his head; and it is asserted, that he would infallibly have been assassinated by certain banditti, whom the king of England had hired for that purpose, had not the pope, who revered the shining qualities of the English cardinal, given him guards to prevent any such attempt. Pole's disgrace was fatal to his whole house: Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury, his mother; Henry Pole, lord Montacute, his brother; Henry Courtney, marquis of Exeter, his cousin, being accused of holding a correspondence with the new cardinal, lost their lives upon a scaffold. The king, ever extreme in his revenge, extended its effects even to young Courtney, who was son to Henry. He indeed was ashamed to put a child to death; but then he threw him into the Tower, where he buried him in prison, for fear he should one day attempt to revenge his father's death.

In the midst of all these executions, the protestants, though they disowned the authority of the see of Rome, did not meet with better treatment. Henry, who was an enemy to every kind of novelty that was not of his own creation, from an unparalleled and whimsical kind of cruelty, burnt all such heretics, and hanged those catholics who dared to adhere publicly to the holy see. The major part of the courtiers, being doubtful of the prince's religion, had none themselves but his will. Both catholics as well as protestants, concealed their religion as a crime; so that nothing but a rebellion against the see of Rome could be openly discovered with impunity. This was the idol of the court, and the only means of maintaining one's self in it. The king, to revenge himself upon the religious, who persevered

in the obedience that was due to the holy see, gave up their possessions as a prey to his courtiers: but these very possessions, which had been so very unjustly acquired, plunged them insensibly from schism into heresy. Many, in the reign of Edward his son, in order to obviate the making of so necessary a restitution, embraced the opinions of Luther and Calvin; and, at last, the most useful opinion appeared to them to be the truest and most genuine.

The commanders and knights of Malta, devoted in a particular manner to the see of Rome, and who acknowledged the pope to be their first superior, were not exempt from this persecution. But as this order, being partly composed of the prime nobility, was powerful in the kingdom, and that the prior of St. John of London had even a seat in parliament, in quality of first baron of England, he suspended the proscription of the individuals, and the entire suppression of the order, till such time as he had got it authorised, which he afterwards did, by act of parliament. In the meantime, there was scarce one indirect persecution but he made them suffer, the greatest part of them being arrested upon various pretences, or at least the revenues of their commandries seized. Such as could escape the malice and cruelty of his ministers, and foresaw the fatal consequences of the schism, abandoned all their possessions, and withdrew into Malta, where they came without any certain fund for their subsistence. The grand master, like a good father, supplied all their wants with the most extensive charity, and endeavoured to administer consolation to them, of which he himself stood in equal need. A Christian king, thus persecuting an order which had deserved so well of all Christendom, completed the measure of

that series of misfortunes he had laboured under during his grand mastership. Being no longer able to bear up under them, he fell sick, when a violent fever soon consumed the small remains of life he had left; and accordingly he expired in the arms of his knights, who were so dear to him, on the 21st of August, 1534. Thus died a prince, so highly deserving for his uncommon bravery, for his heroic constancy, and for the wisdom and mildness of his government; virtues which he possessed in a most eminent degree, and which they afterwards endeavoured to represent by these few words, which were engraven on his monument:

HERE LIES VIRTUE  
VICTORIOUS OVER FORTUNE.

Brother Peter du Pont, of an illustrious house of the county of Ast, descended of the ancient lords of Lombriac, and of Casal-Gres in Piedmont, and bailiff of Santa Euphemia in Calabria, succeeded Villiers de l'Isle Adam. He was at that time in his bailiwick; and his merit and virtues were his only recommendation. He was an ancient knight, of very grave and severe morals, a strict observer of regular discipline; and his election is a manifest proof, that if, through the calamity of the times, the statutes might have been executed with less exactness than formerly, yet, nevertheless, in affairs of moment, and particularly in the election of grand masters, all the knights at that time consulted only their conscience, and that merit alone carried all their voices.

Thomas Bosie, the bishop of Malta elect, was sent by the council to the grand master, to carry him the instrument of his election. No sooner was

the news brought to him, than he burst into tears and would willingly have been excused from accepting so great a dignity; but an unhappy proof of intelligence, which he received by a fresh press, determined him at once, and hastened his departure. They had since dispatched the chevalier Gesvalle, to give him advice of the revolutions that had just happened in Africa, and in the kingdom of Tunis, which Barbarossa had seized upon, and that this formidable corsair threatened Tripoli with siege. The new grand master went immediately on board, and arrived in Malta on the 10th of November. His first cares were to send a powerful succour to Tripoli; but although they should have transported thither all the forces of the order, his brave and intrepid soever the knights might be, they would not have been capable, with four or five galleys only, to make head against Barbarossa, who was master of two such powerful states as Algiers and Tunis, and who, moreover, in quality of basha of the sea, and grand admiral of Solyma, had an hundred galleys, and upwards of two hundred vessels of different bulk under his command. He was brother to Horruc, or Horace Barbarossa; both of them famous for their bravery and fortune.

These two corsairs, though both born among the dregs of the people in the city of Mytelene, were not, however, of obscure birth. From their youth and as soon as they were able to bear arms, they gave some marks of their courage and ambition, in scouring together the seas, with only a single brigantine, which was all their fortune.

An intrepid bravery, a happy success in their attempts, and a number of considerable prizes, increased their reputation and strength. They either



bought or got ships and galleys built, made up a little fleet, and gained over other pirates to their standards, who acknowledged them for their leaders and generals. Neither ambition nor riches could disunite the two brothers : Horruc, who was the elder, had indeed the principal command, but Airadin had as much authority in his absence ; they were equally brave, equally cruel, resolute corsairs, and called themselves friends of the sea, and enemies to all those who sailed on that element : they fell upon Mussulmen and Christians without distinction, and by carrying on the trade of thieves and corsairs, learned insensibly that of conquerors.

There was now nothing wanting to complete their fortune but their being masters of a port, to carry their prizes into ; when the war that broke out between Selim Eutemi, prince of Algiers, and his brother, gave them an opportunity of gratifying themselves in what they wanted, by declaring for one of those princes, and afterwards crushing both : for Horruc being received in Algiers in quality of an ally, made himself master of it ; when getting Eutemi strangled, who had called him to his assistance, his troops proclaimed him king of Algiers ; and, in order to establish his conquest by a powerful protection, he paid homage for it to Solyman, emperor of the Turks, and made himself tributary to him. He afterwards took the cities of Circella and Bugia, won the kingdom of Tremezen, of which Algiers had formerly been a part, and gained several advantages over the Spaniards, who had undertaken the defence of the king of Tremezen, their vassal. But as the fate of arms is doubtful and uncertain, he was besieged in the capital of his kingdom ; when, after a stubborn defence, the artillery

of the Spaniards having reduced the fortifications of that place to ashes, and being unable to hold out any longer, or resolve with himself to capitulate, he endeavoured to escape with his treasures by a subterraneous passage, that ran as far as the plains. The marquis of Gomara, governor of Oran, who commanded at the siege, having notice of his flight, pursued him very close.

Barbarossa, in order to retard the pursuit of the Spaniards, and to gain time to reach the deserts, scattered at certain distances as he fled, gold, silver, and rich stuffs. But nothing was able to suspend the pursuit of the Christians, who fell upon him at the brink of the river Huexda, so that he was now obliged to fight. Barbarossa stood his ground; the despair he was in of escaping out of the hands of his enemies, heightened his courage, and the sight of inevitable danger banished all fear from his breast. He rushed with fury into the midst of the Christians, and killed several officers with his own hand; but, after all, as the odds were very great, the greater number prevailed, and Barbarossa, being surrounded on all sides, fell, with fifteen hundred men, who had accompanied him in his retreat, who were all cut to pieces. His brother Airadin, with the name of Barbarossa, took upon himself the title of *King of Algiers*, and afterwards associated with two famous pirates, who were his lieutenants; the one of them named Airadin, a native of Caramania, and who, for his fury and cruelty, was called *Devil-driver*; the other corsair, a renegado Jew of Smyrna, was known by the name of Sinan. These three corsairs were the terror of all the Christian coasts, and subjected as it were the Mediterranean under their empire. Devil-driver,

not contented with the prizes he daily made at sea, was desirous, after the example of Barbarossa, and perhaps to withdraw himself from his authority, to settle himself in an independent state. Accordingly he surprised Taglora, of which mention has been made in the beginning of this book, made himself master of it, advanced with his squadron into the port, and had the vanity to get himself proclaimed king; A. D. 1532.

But in order to appear to the world still associated with Barbarossa, at the same time that he gave him notice of his new conquest, he paid homage to him for it, and protested that he would ever adhere inviolably to his interests. Barbarossa, though offended with the ambition of his lieutenant, nevertheless thought it the wisest part to dissemble an injury which he could not revenge without weakening himself; he therefore received Airadin's homage, and congratulated him on his conquest. Airadin finding every thing was secure with respect to Algiers, made inroads into the territory of Tripoli. A war now broke out between the knights and this new prince. He took from them two brigantines belonging to the order; he obliged the inhabitants of Gienzor, his neighbours, to break the alliance and the treaty which they had made with Tripoli; and to keep the knights as it were invested in that place, he, in spite of all their opposition, raised a tower or castle, since called The Tower of Alcaide, at the distance of cannon-shot, where nothing could come in or go out of the port of Tripoli but it was immediately discovered.

Muley Hascen, a Moorish prince, king of Tunis, who dreaded the ambition and neighbourhood of the Turk, made a particular alliance with the go-

vernor of Tripoli against him, A. D. 1531, and resolved to drive this corsair from his new conquest before he could have time to strengthen himself in it. With this view he raised a considerable body of forces, most of whom were Arabian peasants, and the knights furnishing him with a train of artillery, he besieged Tagiara. But whether it was owing to the valour and bravery of Airadin, or the unskillfulness of Hascen's generals, that prince was obliged to raise the siege, and to employ afterwards, in his own defence, those forces which he had raised to attack his enemies.

Hascen, of whom mention is now made, was son to Muley Mahomet, who had thirty-four children by several wives. Although Muley was the last, as is asserted, or at least one of the youngest, his mother, who was probably the favourite sultanness, had so great an ascendant over Mahomet, as to obtain a declaration from him in favour of her son, by which he appointed him his successor. This ambitious woman, to prevent him changing his resolution, got him immediately poisoned. This crime was the first step by which Hascen ascended to the throne; and in order to maintain himself in it, he either murdered or put out the eyes of the greatest part of his brothers and nephews. Araschid, who was one of the eldest of his brothers, escaped him: this prince fled to Algiers for refuge, and implored the protection of Barbarossa, the corsair, who, hoping to make advantage of their divisions, gave him a favourable reception; he even promised him a powerful succour, but, at the same time, gave him to understand, that as he was the grand seignior's officer as well as vassal, he could not engage in that enterprise without his leave, but that if he would agree to go

with him to Constantinople, he did not doubt but that great prince, and the whole divan, would approve of a war so just in itself; the several advantages of which, as well as the ease with which it might be carried on, he promised to represent to his highness.

The Moorish prince, who was now at his last shifts, gave himself entirely up to his counsels. Barbarossa, who had his private views, carried him to Constantinople; where being arrived, the perfidious corsair, in a secret audience, which he obtained of the grand seignior, represented to him, that it would be an easy matter for him, by the help of the party, and the intelligence which Araschid held in Tunis, to seize upon that city and the whole kingdom, and to annex it afterwards to his empire. Solyman, avaricious of glory, and eager to extend the bounds of his empire, was pleased with his reasons. Accordingly he issued orders for the fitting out an extraordinary armament in all his ports; so that it was not long before they put to sea ninety gallies, and upwards of two hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and land forces. The grand seignior showed Araschid the greatest kindness, who, at the sight of so formidable an army, flattered himself, that he should re-enter Tunis in triumph. But when they were just going to embark, Solyman had him arrested in the seraglio; and the whole was executed with so much secrecy, that, when they set sail, the whole fleet imagined this unfortunate prince was on board the admiral, and in the general's galley.

This corsair had no sooner set sail from Constantinople, than, the better to conceal his design from the king of Tunis, he stood for the coast of Italy,

ravaged the coasts of Apulia and Calabria, spread the terror of his arms in Naples and Gaeta; and after having ransacked the towns and villages, made slaves of a numberless multitude of the inhabitants, and left the most dreadful marks of his fury in all places, he went through the Pharo of Messina, made the same cruel havoc along the coasts of Sicily, drew near to Cape Passaro, as if he had intended to make a descent there, and afterwards turned short towards Africa, when he landed near Goletta, and gave out that he brought back Araschid. Then, in order to procure the favour of the garrison of the fort, he saluted it with a discharge of his artillery without ball; and having sent an officer into the place, to demand of the governor for whom he held it, the aga answered, "We are the servants of events; and we shall keep the place for that party in whose favour fortune shall declare herself, and for that prince, of the several competitors, whom she shall make king of Tunis."

Barbarossa, who was not ignorant of the importance of this place, it being the key of the kingdom, dispatched a messenger to represent to him, that the grand seignior had sent him to place the lawful heir upon the throne of Tunis; that he had orders to attack and cut to pieces all such as should oppose him in it: that he might satisfy himself with his own eyes how formidable that prince was, and whether he was able to make head against him. The person, who was entrusted with this negotiation, managed it so artfully, and knew so well how to intermix promises with his threats, that the governor, perhaps bribed also by considerable sums of money, delivered up the place to the corsair, who, leaving a strong garrison in it, advanced into

the ports of Tunis. This city, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, is situated on the coast of Barbary, to the north of Africa, between Tripoli and Algiers, at the point of the gulf of Goletta, and two miles from the Mediterranean, from whence one might discover the ruins of the famous Carthage.

The city of Tunis is said to have consisted, at that time, of upwards of twenty thousand houses, and was peopled in proportion; but then it was barely walled, without any fortifications; and as it was commanded from several places on the west side, its whole strength lay in the castle, and the number of its inhabitants.

Upon the approach of Barbarossa's army, and the reports they spread of prince Araschid being at the head of the Turks, the people, who are ever eager for a change of masters, and often ruined thereby, rose and took up arms. Hascen, who was afraid they would abandon him, came out of the castle, endeavoured to quell the sedition, and reminded the mutineers of the fidelity which they had sworn to him; and in order to draw them over to him, stooped so low as to make even the most grovelling entreaties. But whether it were from an abhorrence of his government, or from compassion for Araschid, because he was unhappy, the people rejected with loud cries, and even with contempt, all the remonstrances and entreaties the king could make; so that this prince, fearing they should attempt to murder him, or deliver him up to his enemy, immediately left the city, without so much as once going back into the castle, or carrying off his treasures with him.

Marmol, in his Description of Africa, relates, that that prince had owned to him, that in the great

confusion, which the approach of his enemies, and the revolt of his subjects, had thrown him into, when he went down from the castle into the city, he had forgot a red velvet purse, wherein were two hundred diamonds of an extraordinary size, and of inestimable value.

He had no sooner left Tunis than the inhabitants opened the gates to his enemies, when immediately Barbarossa entered at the head of nine thousand Turks, and made himself master of the castle and the principal posts of the city. The inhabitants received him at first with the highest testimonies of joy; but when they saw Araschid did not appear, they began to mistrust the corsair, notwithstanding his telling them, that he was confined on board his galley by sickness; and the fraud being at last discovered, the inhabitants, instead of taking an oath of fidelity to Solyman, as he required they should do, openly detesting the corsair's treachery, took up arms and fell upon his troops, in order to force him to quit the city. But they had to contend with a captain, who, being a perfect master of the arts of war, had foreseen this revolution. Barbarossa, to awe the people, commanded the artillery of the castle, of which he was master, to be set a roaring; and his soldiers made so furious a discharge of their muskets upon the inhabitants, that, in order to put a stop to the massacre, they were forced to acknowledge the grand seignior for their sovereign, and Barbarossa for his viceroy.

This corsair, as skilful as he was valiant, after having employed his arms with so much success to keep the people in subjection, endeavoured to gain over the principal inhabitants by gentleness, and the most engaging affability. He, by their means,



made an alliance with the Arabian peasants, seized upon most of the cities that were higher up the country, put garrisons into them, and having determined to widen a canal to make Tunis a port, and to put it in a condition to receive ships of the greatest burden, he employed the Christian slaves, of whom he had more than twenty thousand in the city, in that work, who opened the canal of Goletta, which runs from the sea into the lake on which the city of Tunis is situated.

Such was the state and condition of the coasts of Africa, and the provinces bordering upon Tripoli, when the grand master arrived at Malta. This prince justly considered, that it would be impossible for the knights to maintain themselves in Tripoli without the assistance of forces, and a power superior to that of the order. Charles V. was the only sovereign in Europe whom this enterprise of Barbarossa would any way concern; nor was any other able to oppose it. He had just reason to fear, lest this formidable corsair, after so many conquests, should endeavour to seize on the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which would afterwards give him the possession of Malta: so that the grand master, with the approbation of the council, sent the commander Ponce of Leon, a grand cross, to the emperor, in quality of his ambassador, to solicit him to send such an army to Africa as might be capable of maintaining the knights in Tripoli, and of putting a stop to the surprising progress of Barbarossa.

The emperor received, at the same time, and on the same subject, another embassy from Muley Hascen, at the head of which was a renegade Genoese, named Ximaa, who was captain of his guards. This renegade, seeing his master dethroned, and

without any hopes left of being able to recover his crown, advised him to have recourse to Charles V., a prince to whom, he said, Barbarossa was odious, and who would think it very honourable for him to restore a monarch to his kingdom who had been so unjustly deprived of it.

Hascen entrusted the execution of this project to the author of it. Accordingly the Genoese went to Madrid, and obtained an audience of the emperor, who, fearing lest an attempt should be made on Naples and Sicily, gave a favourable hearing to both ambassadors. The affair was proposed in council, and after its being canvassed before the emperor by his ministers and his most able generals, it was resolved, that the emperor should carry his arms into Africa, as well to secure the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily against any invasion that the king of Algiers might make, as the passage of the Spanish seas into Italy, where not so much as a trading or passage vessel, through dread of the corsairs, durst appear, without running the risk of being taken.

Charles V. seemed to be well satisfied with this resolution; but before he employed force, this prince, who was the greatest politician of his age, and who often drew greater advantages from his secret negotiations than his arms, endeavoured to bribe Barbarossa, and to draw him off from Solyman. Accordingly he entrusted Lewis Persandes, another Genoese, with the whole management of this intrigue. The emperor having privately furnished him with a trading vessel, he went with it to Tunis, under pretence of traffic, carrying at the same time credentials, which invested him with the character of an ambassador. Having got himself in-

troduced to Barbarossa upon a different pretence, he showed him his credentials, and, pursuant to his instructions, proposed to him the concluding of a private alliance with Charles V.; and at the same time offered, in the name of that prince, to assist him in acquiring the absolute dominion of all Africa, provided he would engage himself to hold afterwards so glorious a monarchy, and render it tributary to the crown of Spain. By a second instruction, directly opposite to the first, this agent had orders to confer as secretly as possible with certain inhabitants of Tunis, whose names had been given him, and whom Hascen's ambassador had represented as inclining to favour his master's interest, to sound them, to assure them of the speedy return of that prince at the head of an army, and to exhort them to take up arms in his favour, as soon as he should appear at the gates of their city.

But as this minister was for carrying on two negotiations, of so different a nature, at the same time, he was soon suspected. The whole intrigue was discovered; and Barbarossa, without regarding the rights of nations, caused the ambassador to be strangled. The emperor, seeing it would be impossible to succeed by the way of negotiation, resolved to try what open force could do. Accordingly he sent Hascen's ambassador back to his master, to assure him, that he himself would march at the head of a powerful army, in order to restore him to his throne; and, at the same time, he wrote to the grand master by an express, to give him notice of his design, and to invite the knights to join him in an enterprise, which might be of great advantage to them with respect to Tripoli.

The grand master no sooner received this letter

than he communicated it to the council was resolved, that the order should furnish ships for that expedition as it could possess. Accordingly the knights put to sea the largest and best equipped galleys, with brigantines, all well armed; not to mention a great carrack, which alone was more formidable and did more service in this expedition, than the whole squadron. A considerable number of knights were on board these different ships, and each knight carried two brave soldiers along with him, and two servants. The commander, Aurelio Botani, an ancient sea officer, was named for general of the separate fleet, and Anthony de Grolée, titular duke of Lango, was to command the carrack and the land-forces.

Barbarossa, whom the designs of the princes could not possibly escape, provided with arms, ammunition and provisions, assembled all the corsairs of the Levant about him, drew to Algiers as many forces as were there, and drew several ambassadors to all the petty kings, to implore their assistance, and to represent that the loss of Tunis would infallibly draw that of all Barbary. His money did more than the eloquence of his negotiators; and he gave some considerable sums to be distributed to the chiefs of the Arabians, he by that maintained from them fifteen thousand horsemen, not valuing who they fought for, exposing their lives for a mere trifle, and made a mercenary of war. As for Charles V., he had got together a powerful fleet, consisting of near three hundred sail, with twenty-five thousand infantry, and five thousand horse on board, not to mention a

able number of volunteers of different nations, and of the first houses of Europe, who were desirous of signalizing themselves in the presence of so great an emperor.

The general rendezvous was at the port of Cagliari, a city of Sardinia, not above sixty leagues distant from the coast of Africa. The emperor having received the reinforcements from the pope and the order of Malta, set out from thence on the 13th of June, 1536, and safely arrived at Porto-Farino, anciently called Utica, a city famous in the Roman history for the death of the younger Cato. It is said that Barbarossa, when he heard that the emperor commanded his army in person, said to the officers who were about him, "If this prince, who has hitherto seldom made war but by his lieutenants, should acquire in this campaign the only honour that is now wanting to complete his glory, we must resolve with ourselves to lose that which we have acquired with the price of our blood."

This pirate, who naturally imagined that the Christians would begin their enterprise by attacking the fort of Goletta, had, for that reason, thrown into it, six thousand of the bravest Turks in his whole army. These were commanded by Airadin and Sinan the Jew, the two famous corsairs above-mentioned, in whom Barbarossa had reposed the utmost confidence. He at the same time sent the eunuch Asanga, another of his generals, with thirty thousand Moors or Arabians, but all of them bowmen or arquebusiers, and the most part on horseback, in order to harass the Christians continually; and as he doubted the fidelity of the Tunisians, he shut himself up in that place with the flower of his troops.

The emperor landed his army withouto within cannon-shot of the fort of Goletta: more than a large square tower, but well and situated about twelve miles from Tun mouth of the canal by which the sea enter bason on the side of which Tunis is built. nal is about the length of a cross-bow sho narrow, that a vessel cannot pass through strength of oars. Barbarossa had built over this canal; and on a neck of land, between the sea and the tower of Goletta, a rampart, that discovered all the coast, fended those gallies which he had posted o canal.

The emperor's generals pitched upon ground which they thought convenient encampment, and surrounded it with linest wide and deep, and strengthened at cert tances with redoubts. The garrison of Go order to interrupt these works, made frequ lies, in which three hundred Spaniards a hundred Italians were cut to pieces; at t time that the Moorish and Arabian horse w tinually harassing the Christian army, and skirmish to the very head of their camp. tifications being finished, they now began batteries both against the fort, and on tl towards the open country, the fire whereo dreadful, and at the same time without the l termission, that the Turks of the garrison, as the Moors and Arabians who kept the field, dare to come near the emperor's camp again.

This prince, who justly supposed, that, a taking of this fortress, Tunis would fall of resolved, as soon as the breaches should b

enough, to attempt a storm. They battered the place at the same time both by sea and land.

Doria, who commanded the fleet, brought up his galleys by turns, and, after one range had fired, another advanced in its place, and made its discharge. The great carrack of the order was posted, as at the siege of Coron, behind all the galleys; as it was so high built it easily fired over them all, and it made so dreadful and uninterrupted a fire, that it dismounted all the cannon of the tower. The commander Botigella, prior of Pisa, observing that the chief officer over the slaves in the galleys of the order, for fear of running a-ground, had given orders to raise the oars out of the water, went to him sword in hand, and commanding him to make the crew ply their oars, "Wretch," said he, "must we be prevented from performing a brave exploit for the sake only of preserving the hulls of two or three galleys?" The chevalier de Conversa, an able engineer, distinguished himself by an action that was still more daring; for he armed a long bark with great guns, filled it with musketeers, and afterwards drove it up to the foot of the tower, from whence he fired upon all such Turks as presented themselves on the breach; and, while he was charging again on one side, he dexterously turned his bark about, and presented the other, which immediately fired. By this way of working the ship, he killed a great number of the infidels, who fired upon him from the artillery of the tower that was just by, but without doing any execution. In fine, after having fired continually on all sides, from midnight to noon, the emperor, before the Turks had time to repair the breaches, and make intrenchments, commanded a general storm to be attempted. The knights, agree-

able to their prerogative, and the privilege enjoyed of being always at the head of them were commanded to march at the head of them was to be made on the side towards the commander de Grolée, otherwise named de Passim, who commanded the land forces, on board barks and flat vessels; but as they near the shore, these boats run upon a sand. The chevalier Copier, of the house of de Dauphine, who carried the standard of them was the first who leaped into the water with sign. He was followed by all the knights plunging in above the waist, advanced boldly in hand, got to the shore, and, in spite of a of musket-shot, advanced to the storm. The niards, sustained by the Italians and Germans, attacked another place; and in these different the Christians, in spite of the courageous de the Turks, forced the breaches, got to the butt and the top of the tower, and made themselves masters of it. But this victory cost the order many of its bravest knights, and scarce one of them returned without wounds. As this tower had no opening they were immediately in the body of the tower and as the artillery had ruined all its fortifications the Christians, after having fought an hour, gave session of it.

Airadin and Sinan the Jew, seeing it would be vain to resist, threw themselves into the basins of the garrison. They marched along the flats of the way which had been marked out with stakes. They arrived at Tunis, while others stopped at Arzew, a little city in the road between Goletta and Tunis. The Christians pursued and killed great numbers of them; and the emperor entered into Goletta.



to that prince, he said, "Here is the gate opened for you, through which you will return into your dominions." It is asserted that they found in the port of this place eighty seven galleys, galliots, and other rowing vessels, all of them armed; besides upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, most of them brass, a numberless multitude of muskets, cross-bows, pikes, and swords. Barbarossa had made this fort his arsenal, whither he used to carry all his prizes and his booty, and till now had always thought it impregnable.

The emperor having allowed his troops some time to repose themselves after their toil, gave orders for their marching towards Tunis. Notwithstanding that Barbarossa was very sensible of the weakness of the place, and moreover very doubtful of the fidelity of the Tunisians, and more so of the bravery of the Arabians; nevertheless, being a man of prodigious courage, he resolved to try the fate of arms, to advance to meet the Christians, and rather give them battle, than shut himself up in a place that was weak. But before he took the field, he held a great council of war; when having summoned the chiefs of his army, as well Turks and Moors as Arabians, he represented to them the small number of forces the emperor had in comparison of his; that the bravest of the Christians had lost their lives at the siege of Goletta; that the excessive heats of the country, to which the European soldiers were not accustomed, had thrown great numbers of them into a sick and languishing condition; that they were in want of water, insomuch that the greatest part of them died with thirst. He added, that the emperor's camp abounded with immense riches; that the

sums they would get for the ransom of the prisoners they should make, would be full as considerable; "In fine," said he, "I promise you victory, if you are desirous of conquering; and the defeat of your enemies will secure you an abundant fortune, your own safety, and that of your wives and children."

The answer they made him consisted only in protestations of an inviolable fidelity; notwithstanding which, he yet discovered in most of their countenances a certain air of disquietude, and an impression of fear, which gave him no small uneasiness; and as, moreover, he was well acquainted with the fickle and wavering temper of the Africans, he held, during the night-time a secret council, composed only of such Turks as adhered to his fate and fortune. He declared to them, that he was unhappily engaged in a place where he had three kinds of enemies, whom he had equally reason to distrust; that the Moors suffered impatiently the Turkish government, and would be glad to see them all cut to pieces; that the Arabians, who were fitter to make inroads, than boldly to stand their ground in an engagement, would, at the sight of the least danger, immediately give way; and that there were actually twenty-two thousand Christian slaves imprisoned in Tunis, who would not fail to facilitate the entry of the emperor's forces, if they should meet with an opportunity for that purpose; that notwithstanding their being shut up every night in the castle, yet it would be in the power of one traitor or renegado only, to open the gates of it, and render them masters of the city, during the time they should be engaged with the Christians; but that in order to rid himself of that uneasiness, he was resolved, before he left that place, to cut all those

slaves to pieces, without sparing so much as one. Devil-driver gave aloud his approbation of so inhuman a resolution, and maintained that if they spared the slaves, they would make them one day repent their false pity; and that, in such a conjuncture, the preserving of an enemy, who might afterwards destroy them, would be acting in contradiction to all the maxims of policy. But Sinan the Jew, to whom part of these slaves belonged, and who made up the bulk of his possessions, opposed this resolution. He represented to Barbarossa, that so barbarous an action would draw upon them the odium of all nations; that he, by that means, would alienate the affections of the Tunisians, who had either bought or taken the greatest part of those Christians; that he himself would lose the ransom of the most considerable, who were his property; that, after all, they might, whenever they pleased, find an opportunity of making use of so cruel a precaution; that they should reserve that execution, till such time as they should be brought to their last shifts; whereas, if they should happen to beat the emperor's forces, the loss they should sustain, by the premature death of their slaves, would poison the joy that attends upon victory.

Though Barbarossa had not used to prefer moderation to violence, yet avarice, on this occasion, got the better of his natural cruelty, and accordingly he consented to suspend the putting of the slaves to death; but in order not to be disappointed in satiating his vengeance upon them, in case he should be overcome, he loaded them with fresh irons, gave orders that they should not be suffered to stir out of the dungeon or prison where they were shut up, and lodged several barrels of powder under it, to blow

it up into the air upon his orders. After  
 marched out at the head of his troops to  
 emperor, and encamped in a plain at a less  
 tance from Tunis, when both armies soon  
 with one another. The Spanish historians, to  
 the glory of Charles V. pretend, that his  
 army consisted of no less than ninety thou-  
 sand. The reader may judge whether this be a  
 issue of the battle, if we may give this  
 rout, in which, by the confession of those  
 writers, the Christians lost but eighteen sold-  
 iers, the infidels about three hundred. Be that  
 as it may, the Arabians advanced at first with intrep-  
 idity, and came to the charge with great shouts. But  
 when they heard the roaring of the artill-  
 ery, they stood the first fire from the muskets, but the  
 which had been used to fight only in whe-  
 ties, immediately gave way, took to their heels,  
 and disappeared in an instant; and that which  
 threw Barbarossa into the utmost consternation  
 was, that they drew the Moors and Tunisians along  
 with them in their flight, who flocked into the city, with  
 eagerness than they had issued out of it. The  
 Arabian chiefs, as a handle that might be of use  
 to them in making their court to Hascen, af-  
 fected to boast their having kept them in, and pre-  
 vented their fighting. Barbarossa commanded a  
 drum to be sounded; and, after having rallied them,  
 once reproach them, and only told them, that  
 they should engage the Christians on the morrow.

But he was very far from having any such  
 intention. As he was surrounded on all sides with open  
 enemies, the only reason of his keeping  
 many troops was in order to secure his retreat,  
 and even concealed this resolution with the utmost

from the Turks, who appeared to be his most faithful friends; but the eagerness his people discovered to draw his treasures out of the castle, gave occasion for some suspicion; and the order he afterwards gave, to set fire to the powder that was lodged under the prison of the slaves, made them no longer doubt of his resolves: but the ordinary ministers of his cruelty had it not in their power to execute so horrid a scene of barbarity. There was at that time among the slaves, a knight of the order, commander of Turin, Paul Simeoni by name, whom Barbarossa could never be prevailed upon to release, whatever ransom the order could offer. He has been already mentioned, when we spoke of the island of Ero, which this knight, then but eighteen years old, defended with so much bravery against all the enterprises and attacks of the infidels. Simeoni, in this last conjuncture, bribed two renegadoes, who were the slaves gaolers, and being furnished, by their assistance, with hammers and files, he knocked off his chains, and helped to break those of his companions.\* They afterwards broke into the armory of the castle, armed themselves with every thing that first came to hand, cut to pieces all the Turkish soldiers that had remained in the castle, made themselves masters of it, and, after having barricadoed the gates of it, and set a strong guard in the principal places, the knight, who was at the head of the enterprise, went up to the top of the castle, and displayed a white flag, to give the Christian army notice to come to their assistance. Barbarossa being told that a great noise had been heard in the castle, ran thither, crying out, to open the gates to him; but was answered only by the fire of their

\* Francisco de Medallino, and Vincent de Cattaro Giafraga.

most transports of fury, "All is lost, since those dogs are masters of the castle and my treasures." He then immediately ran out of the city with Devil-driver, and as many Turks as he could get together; and before the emperor could have notice of this revolution, he fled, and got to the city of Bon, built near the ancient Hippo, a city famous for being the episcopal seat of St. Austin, one of the four first fathers of the church, and its oracle next to St. Paul, in all those things that relate to celestial grace.

Simeoni having notice of the flight of the corsairs, sent advice of it to the emperor, who immediately advanced. The first object that presented itself, at his entrance into that place, was this knight at the head of six thousand of his companions in slavery. Charles V. embraced him, cried out, "Brother knight, blessed be for ever your courageous resolution, which has made you break your chains, has facilitated my conquest, and heightened the glory of your order." Simeoni, loaded with honour, went on board the galleys of Malta, where he saluted the general and his brethren: but the emperor's forces and the slaves dispersed themselves up and down the city, where they committed the most unheard-of excesses of all kinds, insomuch that one would have thought the Christians had had a mind to outdo the most barbarous nations in cruelty and lasciviousness. The miserable inhabitants of both sexes suffered in their persons, and in those who were dearest to them, racks, and various kinds of torture, to force them to discover their hidden treasures to their cruel conquerors; and when they had

extorted all they could from them, they afterwards massacred them. The young maidens were exposed to an infamy still more odious and insupportable than the most cruel punishments; and when the soldier was weary with butchering, or glutting his brutish lust, without any respect to age, sex, or birth, he loaded with chains all such as fell into his hands. Young women of the greatest beauty were torn from the arms of their mothers, and the officers kept them as their own booty, to make them administer to their most infamous pleasures.

Among these unfortunate slaves was a young lady of exquisite beauty, of one of the noblest houses in the city, whose name was Aysa. She fell to the lot of a Spanish officer, who carried her into the camp, and placed her in his tent. Muley Hascen meeting her tied, in a manner altogether unworthy her noble birth, being moved to compassion, and perhaps with a sensation of a stronger nature, stopped her, and offered to purchase her of her master: but the Moorish lady, naturally haughty, and now overcome with rage and grief, spit in his face, crying out at the same time, "Begone, thou wicked and perfidious Hascen, who, to recover a kingdom thou hast no right to, hast scandalously betrayed thy country and thy nation." But that prince, on whom all this usage could make no impression, going on to offer the officer very considerable sums for her ransom, Aysa, transported with fury, continued to cry out, "Begone, I tell thee, I will not have a tyrant for my deliverer."

We are told, that above a hundred thousand persons were either killed or made slaves; many fell a sacrifice to the fury of the soldiers; others, who thought to fly to the sands and the neighbouring

deserts, were suffocated by the excessive those burning climates, and died of thirst. The number of prisoners of both sexes was computed to be upwards of forty thousand. The emperor, master of Tunis, restored Muley Hassan to his throne, but upon condition that he should give up the crown of Spain; and as a pledge of fidelity he kept the fort of Goletta in his own hands, whose fortifications he repaired. By this he obliged the Moorish prince to pay the garrison, and to send thither prince Mahomet, and his children, with some other lords of his court, as a pledge of fidelity. After this the emperor prepared to set out for Europe; but before he embarked, the 25th of July, being the day on which the church celebrates the feast of St. James of Spain, this prince solemnized the commemoration of it in his camp. After he had heard mass, which was sung to music, he dined on board the great galleon of Malta, called *Calacca*, where he was entertained by the knights with the utmost magnificence. The emperor's design, after he had set sail, was to pass by Mehedra, a city of Sicily, in order to make himself master of it; but there arose a violent tempest which scattered his ships, and destroyed his galleys. At last this victorious fleet, after having passed through a great variety of dangers, arrived at Trepano in Sicily.

The grand master sent a splendid embassy to congratulate him upon the happy success of his arms. This prince answered, in the most obliging manner, that he owed the best part of it to the valour and courage of the knights; and that he would ever be always engaged to adhere to their interests, he bestowed very rich presents on the



cipal knights who had attended him in this expedition; and, by a fresh rescript, or grant, ordained, that the grand master and council should draw from Sicily, custom free, all the ammunition and provisions they should want. By another edict, and a peculiar privilege, he declared, that no knight, under any pretence whatever, should enjoy, in the whole extent of his dominions, any possessions belonging to the order, without the express permission of the grand master and council, and unless the originals of those grants had been seen by his Majesty or his ministers, and registered in his council of state.

The squadron of the order returned prosperously into the ports of Malta; but the joy of the knights was a little time after allayed by the death of the grand master, who had hardly enjoyed that great dignity a year. He, during his administration, had forbid the knights, under very severe penalties, indulging themselves in the custom, or rather the abuse, which they had brought from Italy, of masking themselves during the carnival; and he substituted, instead of these bacchanals, tilts, and tournaments, and several other military exercises, which he made them consider as recreations much more suitable to warriors.

It was from the same strictness of discipline, and exact observance of the statutes, that he refused, in spite of all the instances the pope could make, to nominate to a vacant commandery a young knight, in prejudice of his seniors. He told this pontiff by letter, that, upon his accession to the grand-mastership, he, as well as all his predecessors, had taken the most solemn oaths, to observe the statutes of the order; and he besought his holiness to dispense with his violating so sacred an obligation, which he had

contracted at the foot of the altars, and the gospels.

Didier de St. Jaille, prior of Thoulon the most zealous defenders of Rhodes, mention has been made in the relation of succeeded Peter du Pont. He, in like his predecessor, was elected in his absence. A chevalier de Bourbon succeeded at the by the death of brother Peter de Cluis, to priory of France. The first use the new of the riches annexed to his priory was for the making of a sumptuous piece of tapestry, in which, on a ground of silk heightened with gold, was seen the pictures of all the grand events drawn to the life, and after excellent which had been brought from Rhodes; and as this rich and curious piece of furniture finished he sent it to Malta, and consecrated it to adorn the principal church in that island.

These marks of the liberality and disinterestedness of the knights were not at that time unusual in the order. The greatest part of the commanders, particularly such as were invested with the principal dignities of the order, used generously to devote all the revenues of them in fitting armaments against the infidels. The greatest of them sought rather for the glory than the wealth which might accrue to them from their prizes. We may affirm, that there were in all times more knights at sea than on shore, or residing in the commanderies. They were often seen return from the port of Malta, dragging after them the ships and galleys of the infidels, out of which they immediately delivered the Christian slaves of different nations; and these Christians, after the rec

their liberty, carried back into their respective countries the testimony and remembrance of the zeal and valour of the knights.

Among these illustrious personages, each of whom would merit a particular history, was reckoned Bottigella, prior of Pisa, and general of the galleys; George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany; Gro-lée, bailiff of Lango; James Pelloquin, the grand master's lieutenant; Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua; Chatteau-Renaud, marshal of the order; the commander Parisot de la Valette; and a great many others, whose names are mentioned in the Memoirs of the Order.

But no one at that time had rendered himself more formidable to the corsairs than the prior of Pisa, who was continually out at sea. Not a single corsair durst come near the coasts of Sicily and Malta but was immediately snapped up; and so great was the number of prizes he made that year, that the corsairs said, he had a familiar demon, in the shape of a dog, on board his galley, who gave him notice of the day of their departure from the coasts of Africa, and the places where he might meet with them. Time had scarcely ever produced a general, in whom was united so perfect a knowledge in sea affairs, with so intrepid a bravery: he fell upon all he met, whether weak or strong; and, without having regard to any reprisals that might be made, hanged all such renegadoes as fell into his hands. Being severe in command, he required the same bravery in his knights, of which he gave them an example: nor was he less strict in the observance of military discipline, for after an expedition, in which he had made very considerable prizes, certain knights having made bold with some of the plunder,

he had them put under arrest, and confined them for a long time, as usurpers of the property of the order. He was but just returned into the port of Tripoli, when they discovered about dusk, and from the top of the tower, three large galliots steering towards the island of Gerbes; on which the captains of the galliots immediately desired leave to go out of the port, and give them battle: "Do not you perceive," replied that able seaman, "that if they should happen to see you, the night, which is coming on, will favour their escape before you can have time to come up with them? Let them continue their course at this time, but they shall not be got to such a distance, but I will be up with them by day-break."

And, indeed, no sooner was night come, than he sailed out of the port with three galleys, and stood for Gerbes, as well as the darkness would allow. It was scarcely day-break when he discovered those galleys, who were sailing in company, on which he immediately began to give them chase. The corsairs seeing themselves pursued, separated; and one of the galliots endeavouring to gain the coasts of Barbary, a galley, called the Cornue or Horned Galley, intercepting it in its course, the knights, sabre in hand, attempted to board her. Immediately the Turks, who were in great numbers in that ship, threw themselves on the side which the knights were for attacking: their too eager haste, and the great number of men, who were all got to one side, occasioned their destruction; for the galliot being over-set, sunk to the bottom, in the sight, and to the great regret, of the knights, who were more afflicted for the death of the Christian slaves that were drowned on that occasion, than the loss of a prize,

which could not possibly have escaped them. The second galliot, which the knights endeavoured to board, met with almost the same fate; and as it was manned with a great number of Turks, they did not avoid fighting, but turned the prow against the galley of the order. On both sides a smotherless multitude of furious discharges were made, which disabled a number both of Christians and Turks. The pilot of the infidels, being more dexterous than that of the order, presented a broadside, and after having discharged a fresh volley of arrows, stood off to sea: but general Botigella, who had reserved himself to assault that galley which should be the most vigorously attacked, opposed the retreat of the galliot, and came up with it prow against prow. The combat was now renewed with redoubled fury: the *courcier* or great gun, and the muskets, made a furious discharge on both sides; the battle was maintained for a long time with equal advantage; victory shifted sides alternately more than once. The corsairs, who were seamen that had been brought up in the midst of fire and the fury of arms, fought with intrepid fury. They more than once flattered themselves with the hopes of forcing the wale of the galley, and obliging the knights, who defended it, to give way: but they were opposed by a set of intrepid men, who had ever been fearless of danger. This courageous body of soldiers threw themselves sword in hand into the galliot, at the same time that the soldiers of the Cornue or Horned Galley forced another part, and joined the soldiers of the admiral galley. It was now not so much a combat as a general massacre. The Christian soldiers gave no quarter; but, hurried on by a thirst of booty, so great a number of them flung themselves into the

ship, that, whether it were the prodigious weight of those who entered it, and who were all on one side; or that it had sprung a leak during the engagement; it sank to the bottom, when the victorious, confounded with the vanquished, met with a like fate, and perished even in the midst of victory.

The largest of the galliots, commanded by Scander, a famous corsair, and by another rais or captain, did his utmost to reach Zozra, thirteen miles distant eastward from the island of Zosbe or Gelsey: but the chevalier Parisot de la Valette, captain of one of the galleys, and the worthy companion of Botigella, pursued him so close, that the Turks could not avoid fighting. This new engagement was as bloody as the former: Scander fought like a man who had ever been fearless of death, and who did not value being cut to pieces, provided he came off but with victory. The commander de la Valette, at the head of the knights of his galley, and exposed to the arrows of the enemy, received two wounds: with an arrow during the heat of the engagement, which prevented his perceiving it: but some time after a musket-ball shattered his leg to pieces, and threw him on the deck. Notwithstanding his critical situation, he still retained his usual courage and ardent thirst of victory. The knights and soldiers, animated by his cries, pushed the infidels with so much intrepidity, that they forced their way into their ship. Here they were forced to come to a second engagement. The Turks, mad through despair, and animated by the example of their officers, fought with incredible fury; and, though reduced to a small number, yet they forced the Christians to abandon their ship, and, after having disengaged themselves from the cramp-irons, with which they

had been fastened to the galleys, in spite of all the efforts of the knights they stood off to sea, and steered towards Zoara: they were got pretty near it, when the knights, who followed their prey, came up with them. Here the fight was a third time renewed, but they were no longer on an equal footing; for the Turks having lost the greatest part of their soldiers and sailors, there scarcely remained sufficient to manage the ship; and the few that survived, seeing the shore at hand, threw themselves into the sea in order to reach it: but as a great number were wounded, the major part of them were drowned, among whom were two rais or captains. The knights immediately made themselves masters of the galliot, whence they delivered two hundred Christians, after which Botigella returned triumphantly to the port of Tripoli with his prize.

This success, and the continual war which the knights maintained against the African Turks, both by sea and land, determined these barbarians to drive them, if possible, out of Tripoli. The pirate Airadin, lord of Tagiora, being chiefly interested in this war, took on himself the execution of the enterprise; and accordingly got together all the forces he could from Tagiora, Gienzor and d'Almaya, the rendezvous being at the tower of the Alcayd. He set out in the night, and at day-break attempted an assault at those parts of the wall of Tripoli which he thought least defended. He entertained hopes of surprising the knights; but George Schilling, grand bailiff of Germany, who commanded in Tripoli, having intelligence sent him by his spies, which he kept at Tagiora, was under arms with the whole garrison; no sooner did the Turks appear than they were briskly plied with fire-works, boiling oil, and

stones, at the same time that the artillery keteers of the place fired incessantly on were furthest off, and who sustained the the head of the attack. Although Airadin saw that he was discovered, yet he fought with and resolution. His troops, after his example, made the most surprising efforts to get to the wall; but it was lined with a number of knights, who were fearless of death and Many died by the arrows and musket-shot of the infidels. The barbarians lost a great number of men, but their places were immediately supplied by the great number of forces they had along with them for this expedition; while the knights, who at that time were no more than in number, with a weak garrison, drew numbers but from their courage, which even seemed to increase in proportion as their forces diminished. The grand bailiff, in particular, ran up and to those places where the attack was warmest, and was seen at all of them almost at the same time. The grand bailiff, for his part, did not omit any of the duties of a brave commander, and more by his example than by his words, drew on his soldiers, and did his utmost to get to the top of the wall; but this gentleman being knocked off his ladder by a ball, the soldiers found it a very difficult matter to get him out of the ditch into which he had fallen. Thinking him dead, lost all their courage; and made off, and left at the foot of the walls a great number of soldiers who had been killed there.

The grand bailiff, after their retreat, dispatched a brigantine to Malta, to give the grand lieutenant and the council advice of the escape of Airadin; by his letter he represented the



that as Tripoli was without bastions and bulwarks, it would have been impossible for it to have held out against an army that should have besieged it in form; that they were even daily exposed to be surprised in the same manner, and that in order to prevent it, and to drive the infidels from its neighbourhood, it would be necessary for them to raze the tower of the Alcayd, which held the place invested and blocked up on that side, and hindered the Christians from trading with the Moors and Arabians, the inhabitants of the country, who were as great enemies to the Turks and corsairs as the knights.

The council approved this enterprise, and appointed the commander Botigella, prior of Pisa and general of the galleys, to head it. Accordingly he immediately put to sea with five hundred knights, and about seven hundred soldiers, which the order kept in constant pay at Malta; and the bailiff Schilling, governor of Tripoli, treated at the same time with some sheiks or Arabian lords, who, in consideration of a certain sum agreed on between them, furnished him a body of horse. Botigella having landed his forces at Tripoli, brought thither what artillery he thought he should stand in need of, and had it drawn by his slaves and the crews of his galleys almost up to the tower he intended to besiege; when, without staying to open the trenches, he first raised his batteries, and contented himself with covering them with gabions. Airadin, on being informed of this attack, immediately marched thither from Tagiera with what forces he could collect; but when he had got to the town of Adabus, which was not above three miles distant from the tower, he found himself stopped by the knights, who were at the head of the Arabian horse. Not

finding himself strong enough to attack a body that was lined with a hundred and fifty knights, he contented himself with making a few light skirmishes, which gave opportunity to about sixty Turks to throw themselves into the place. Notwithstanding this succour, Botigella battered it continually; but perceiving that his artillery did not make so quick execution as he could have wished, he sent for the wales or bents from his galleys, which he employed as mantlets, or a moveable pent-house; and being covered by this fence, he brought up the miners to the foot of the wall, which he blew up. Immediately the knights advanced up to the breach, which they found undefended; for the greatest part of the corns had been buried under the ruins of the mine. Such as had escaped, still stunned with the noise, and seeing the knights masters of the breach, with their swords drawn, threw down their arms. Botigella immediately razed the tower; and while the crew of the galleys and other slaves were employed in this work, he advanced at the head of his little army towards Adabus, where Airadin was intrenched. He drove him from thence, abandoned the plunder of this town to the Arabians, and, after having left in Tripoli a sufficient body of troops to reinforce the garrison, he re-embarked to return to Malta. In his course he met a great galleon, that was coming from Egypt, freighted with rich merchandise, commanded by a famous Turkish captain called Ardor. Botigella made directly towards him with his galleys, came up with him, and, in spite of all the fire of his cannon, the knights immediately boarded him, leaped into the Turkish vessel with their drawn sabres, and made themselves masters of her. Two hundred Turks were made prisoners and

slaves on this occasion, and the prize was valued at 160,000 crowns; after which the fortunate Botigella, who justly deserved to be always so, returned to the port of Malta. The commander James de Pelloquin, the grand master's lieutenant, the greatest part of the lords of the council, and as many knights as were on the island, were at the port to receive him on his landing. As they had been informed of the result of his expedition, he was publicly praised and congratulated; and this illustrious body of soldiers led him in triumph to the church of St. Lawrence, where he went to return thanks to God for the happy success of his arms.

They were still full of those first emotions of joy, which the happy return of general Botigella gave the convent, when various accidents threw them into a general consternation. A young novice, who aspired to the chaplainship of the order, robbed the image of our Lady of Philermos, which had been brought from Rhodes, of the pearls and precious stones with which it had been adorned. Some days after, an English knight, being distractedly in love with a Maltese woman, in the transports of rage and jealousy, stabbed her with his own hand, upon very slight suspicions. The grand master's lieutenant had the thief and the murderer seized; and, after their being condemned by the secular judges of the island, they were carried to the distance of a mile from the port, when, being put into sacks, they were thrown alive into the sea,

To these misfortunes succeeded another, that was a subject of no less affliction to the whole body of the order. The chevalier de Varennes Nagn, commander of Trebous, arriving at Malta on the 10th of October, brought thither the sad news of the

death of the grand master de St. Jaille, who, having set out from his priory of Tholouse, in order to come to the convent, fell sick at Montpellier, where he died on the 26th of September, 1536. The next day they met to choose a successor. Every one imagined that the commander Botigella, or the lord Grolée, otherwise called the commander Passi bailiff of Lango, would be elected to that dignity, both of them being ancient knights, who, by their services, their brave actions, and singular piety, had deserved so well of the order, and of all Christendom.

But a cabal, which was carried on by the chevalier Garcia Cortez, who happened to be at the time the electing knight, turned the majority of voices in favour of the commander John d'Omedes of the language of Arragon, and bailiff of Capri. This bailiff had formerly promised to procure him his bailiwick, provided he came to the grand mastership, by his means. The subtle Spaniard, being a man of intrigue, and who saw that the promotion of his friend would pave the way to his own, made a merit, to the sixteen electors, of a wound and the loss of an eye, which d'Omedes had sustained during the siege of Rhodes: probably, too, without insisting too much upon a wound, which is often an ambiguous mark of bravery, he might have been artful enough to take advantage of the superiority which the knights of his nation, from the influence of the emperor, had at that time in the assemblies of the order. Be that as it will, no sooner was the election of d'Omedes published, but the greatest part of the three hundred and sixty knights, who composed the assembly, appeared in the highest consternation. The ill omens they presaged upon the government

of the elect were afterwards verified, by an administration that was self-interested, partial, and even extremely harsh and rigorous.

The illustrious Botigella, so worthy of that high dignity, was thrown aside, and did not keep even that of commander or general of the galleys, with which Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, was afterwards invested. He was a young lord of one of the first houses in Florence, a near relation to Catherine de Medici, queen of France, and on whom pope Clement VII., his uncle, at the same time that he gave him the habit of the order, had bestowed that dignity, of which he was actually in possession at the time of his being raised to the sovereign pontificate.

The young prior, who had been made a captain before he was a soldier, had first fought under the famous Andrew Doria, the emperor's general: the first essay he made in his command was at the taking of twelve galleys, commanded by a Turk, a great seaman, named Ali Zelif, who was defeated by twelve galleys of the order. Doria had thirty-four galleys beside those of the order; and meeting the infidels in the channel of Corfu, he attacked them with that confidence, which he justly entertained from the superior number of his galleys: but he experienced, on that occasion, that nothing is superior to a resolute courage. Ali had a great number of janizaries on board his galleys, with orders to transport them to Dalmatia, where Solyman was getting together a body of forces. These soldiers gave the most shining marks of bravery, and fought like men who were resolved not to survive their defeat. They levelled the fury of their arms chiefly on the knights, their ancient and eternal enemies; and two Turkish galleys, one of which was the

admiral, invested the admiral-galley of Malta. The first kept close to the prow, and the other presented her side, when a cruel and bloody combat ensued. The Turks attacking the knights very briskly, several of that order, and among the rest Constant Opert, one of the principal officers on board the admiral-galley, lost their lives in the brave opposition they made against the Turks, who endeavoured to throw themselves into his galley. Fortune seemed to favour them on that side; and they would, perhaps, have carried off the admiral-galley, had not the prior of Capua, in this danger, commanded a culverine to be levelled against the galley which lay along side of it. This saved the admiral; for the Turkish galley being struck in her keel, immediately filled with water, and sunk to the bottom. The knights, having thus got rid of an enemy on that side, turned all their force against the Turkish admiral-galley. The combat being now upon a more equal footing, became, at the same time, more bloody. The knights and Turks, with the design of making themselves masters of the opposite admiral-galley, threw themselves reciprocally upon each others weapons. At length the knights seemed to have gained some advantage over the infidels; they forced the janizaries, and threw themselves in crowds, with their drawn sabres, into their galley. The Turks, being recovered from the surprise which so violent an attack had thrown them into, renewed the combat with increased fury. The soldiers, transported with rage, would neither give nor take quarter. No sooner one dropped but his place was immediately filled up by another. Though the knights had cut most of the Turks to pieces, they were not yet masters of the galley; and the few that

to take away those of the knights. They all suffered themselves to be cut to pieces to the last man; and, what had been seldom seen in these kind of engagements, the prior took his galley without making so much as a single prisoner.

The infidels, who were in the other galleys, displayed no less courage and intrepidity; notwithstanding the great odds in the number of the ships, and though they were surrounded with thirty-eight Christian galleys, yet they fought with as much resolution as those of the admiral-galley. At last the Christians forced victory to declare in their favour; but they bought it at a very dear price: and, not to mention a great number of soldiers, they lost Anthony Doria, one of their general officers, the chevalier Copez, and a great number of others of the same order, who were either wounded, or lost their lives in this engagement.

The emperor's general having notice that ten French galleys were set sail from the port of Marseilles, to carry an ambassador of Francis I. to Constantinople, lay under Cape Passaro, in order to surprise them. The general of the order, that he might observe an exact neutrality between these princes, drew off from the body of the fleet. He employed this interval in scouring the coasts of Calabria, and gave chase to two great galliots and a corsair foist, of which he made himself master, and delivered four hundred Christians out of slavery, whom he carried into the port of Malta, with the prisoners he had made. The whole body of the people ran to congratulate him upon the happy success of his commencement in arms; and drew from thence the most flattering presages, which he afterwards verified by the

great actions he performed, both in the ocean and in the Mediterranean. Scarcely had this young general disarmed his ships, when he heard, that Philip Strozzi, his father, had been taken prisoner in an engagement by young Cosmo of Medicis, duke of Florence; that this prince had caused him to be carried into that city, loaded with irons, and that they were actually at that time prosecuting him as a criminal of state, and a rebel. The prior of Capua, in the deepest affliction at this dismal news, begged the council to dismiss him; which having obtained, he hired a brigantine at his own expence, and immediately set sail for Italy.

For the better understanding this historical incident, which will have a very great influence on all we have occasion to mention hereafter concerning the prior, who was one of the greatest captains of his age, the reader must recollect the several passages in the foregoing book, relating to the war which the emperor Charles V. had waged against pope Clement VII. of the house of Medicis. During this war, and the imprisonment of this pontiff, the citizens of Florence had divided themselves into two parties; the one, who adhered to the house of Medicis, was for raising it to the throne, and absolute monarchy; the other maintained the ancient form of government, and was for asserting their liberty, and a republican administration. As long as pope Clement and the emperor continued at variance, this last prince sided publicly with the republicans; they relied entirely upon his protection, and the Medicis had been driven from Florence as tyrants, and enemies of the public liberty.

But the emperor, whose resolutions varied with



his interest, being reconciled with the pope, the confidence of the Florentines abated, and their liberty was very much endangered. By the treaty concluded between the pope and Charles V. the Medicis were to be restored in Florence to all the dignities and possessions they had enjoyed before their banishment; and by a secret article, the emperor had engaged himself to establish Alexander de Medicis, bastard son of Laurence Duke of Urbino, or, according to others, son to Clement himself, prince, and perpetual governor of that republic. This was the cause of the siege, which the troops of the pope and emperor, in concert, carried on before that place; and after having made themselves masters of it, that they might not terrify the republican party, the emperor would have the new prince take upon him no more than barely the title of governor of the republic of Florence. But Alexander, who was too young to prescribe bounds to his ambition, and seeing himself afterwards the emperor's son-in-law, by his marriage with Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of that prince, affected the majesty of kings, and governed this state with a haughtiness and independence, which rendered him odious, not only to his fellow-citizens, but even to his very relations. Upon which a dangerous conspiracy was formed against the life of this prince, at the head of which was Philip Strozzi, husband of Clarissa of Medicis, and sister to pope Leo X. and he had the art to engage in the same plot Laurence of Medicis, cousin to the governor, his next heir, and even his favourite. Perhaps, besides the motive and pretext of defending the public liberty, he might have had an eye to that great succession, and was more an enemy to the prince than to the principality. Be

that as it will, this perfidious wretch, who administered to all the pleasures of duke Alexander, pretending he had appointed him a rendezvous with a Florentine lady at his house, got him thither, and stabbed him. But instead of seizing upon the palace, and exciting the people, by the hopes and the specious bait of liberty; to take up arms in his favour, trouble, astonishment, and fear, succeeded to so cruel an action. He fled, and the partizans of the house of Medicis, recovering from their surprise, and being unable to support themselves without a head, filled up the dignity of duke Alexander with Cosmo de Medicis, though of a distant branch, a youth scarce sixteen; yet of a judgment vastly superior to his years, and who, in so delicate a juncture, discovered as much courage as ambition. He was son to John of Medicis, one of the most famous captains of Italy, and of Mary of Salviati, a woman as much celebrated for her noble extraction, as for her wisdom and conduct. This lady, ever since the death of John of Medicis, had lived in widowhood with great austerity, and, shutting herself up in her house, had employed all her thoughts in the education of young Cosmo. Upon the first news she had of their design to advance her son to the dignity which duke Alexander had enjoyed, whether it were maternal tenderness inspired her with fear, when she thought of his filling up so dangerous a post; or that, as some historians have advanced, that generous woman preferred the liberty of her country to the aggrandizing of her son, she employed her tears and intreaties to dissuade him from accepting it. But Cosmo, either more resolute, or more ambitious, without listening to her remonstrances, abandoned himself to the partizans of his house. By

their credit, he was acknowledged for governor of the commonwealth in a public assembly : and the emperor, having notice of the fatal death of his son-in-law, confirmed this disposition. Cosmo took the reins of government into his hands : and, though so young, conducted himself with so much prudence, that it would not be easy to determine, whether he was most indebted to his skill, or his good fortune, for the principality of Florence.

Strozzi, and the partizans for a republican government, seeing the Medicis party prevail in the city, withdrew from it, and issued secret commissions for the levying of forces, to enable themselves to return into it sword in hand. They flattered themselves, that young Cosmo, busied with the cares of his infant government, would not so soon be able to pursue them. But this prince, who had faithful spies in all their cabals, soon had notice of their armament ; and, in order that they might not have time to increase it, he went out of Florence at the head of his friends, and the standing forces of the government ; and strengthened by the authority of the laws, of which he himself was the depository, he marched directly against the Strozzi, who were publicly proscribed by the magistracy. Both parties met near Marono, a village not far from Florence, and soon engaged ; but it was rather a rout than a battle. The greatest part of the conspirators, fearing to fall into the hands of their enemies, took to their heels. Strozzi, and a few faithful friends, who were determined not to abandon him, stood their ground, and fought like desperadoes, who were resolved to be cut to pieces ; but they were disappointed. Cosmo, whom it so nearly concerned to have the most exact account of the forces, and the secret correspondence :

of that party, had given orders that it should be spared, in which he was obeyed; contented themselves with surrounding the being disarmed, they were immediately put and were carried into the prisons at Florence, which they began to prosecute them.

It was on such dismal tidings that the Capua set out from Malta for Italy, to procure of his father's liberty. But being at Naples, he was informed that he had been in prison during his confinement; were to avoid the ignominy of his execution, some historians have given out, through the violence of the rack, and other kinds of torture should extort from him the name of the seditious citizens which he had in the city. This made the heathens of antiquity would have admired whom the Christians condemn, killed him with sword, which had been left in his chamber. The following verse of Virgil was found upon the tree, which he had engraved with the name of his sword.

*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor !*

O may there rise some 'venger of our blood !

His children, faithful to their father's memory, devoted themselves to revenge his death, in a glorious manner, which the laws authorized; they considered the emperor as no other than a subverter of the liberty of their country, an indirect author of their father's death, they passed over to the French, and served in their ranks. Peter Strozzi, the eldest, rose by his valor to the dignity of marshal; and the prior of Capua distinguished himself in the sea-service, in which he was commanded as general of the galleys: nor was

these specious marks of his repentance, promised him the utmost security in his army; and also, that after the taking of Susa, he would carry him back to Europe. He then began to enquire of the renegado concerning the condition of the place, to whom the traitor gave an account, agreeable to what he had concerted before with the governor: he particularly told him, with an air of the utmost sincerity, that the quarter which his cannon played upon was the strongest part of the place; that the wall there was strengthened with a rampart, and that though they might possibly ruin and beat it down, they yet would find deep intrenchments behind it, fortified with flanks and redans, and lined with a good number of musketeers to keep off the assailants; and added moreover, that the governor, finding him engaged in attacking that place, had made his boast, that all the Christians should perish in it. The marquis, to whom this account gave no small uneasiness, asked him which was the weakest part of the place; which being just what the renegado wanted, he shewed him the strongest part; when the marquis, deceived by the advice of this perfidious wretch, changed his batteries, and made all his efforts against some towers which flanked the castle. These towers, the renegado assured him, would be demolished by his cannon in a moment; but they spent all the powder they had brought from Malta, and Sicily, on making only a very narrow breach. However, as their ammunition failed, the marquis, who was not yet undeceived, resolved to attempt an assault. In pursuance of which, an hundred and thirty knights, and four hundred soldiers in the service of the order, mounted it first; who, though they could march only in files, one after another, they

yet got to the top of the breach, where they intended to have made a lodgement; but they met with such large and deep intrenchments before them, and were exposed to such volleys of shot from the muskets and cross-bows in the flanks, as obliged them to retire. They then proposed to turn the attack and the batteries on another side, but were prevented by the want of powder. It was with the utmost anguish, that the marquis saw himself under a necessity of raising the siege, who, before he re-embarked, resolved to vent his anger on the renegade; but that villain, pleased with the happy success his artifice had met with, had fled into the town, to receive the reward of his treachery and hypocrisy; and the knights, after having left a great number of their comrades and soldiers at the foot of the walls, and on the breach, returned desponding to Malta, where they complained that the emperor had sacrificed the forces of the order, under a general so very unfit to command them.

The commander Botigella seconded these just complaints with his advice. He was just returned from his government of Tripoli, which being expired, Ferdinand de Bracamont, commander of Bcolca, was nominated his successor; and Alonso Cordan, a knight of great reputation, was to command the cavalry of the place. Botigella, on his return, took occasion, from the ill success of the siege of Susa, to represent to the grand master and council, that experience ought to have made them sensible, how impracticable it was for the Christians ever to make any fixed and durable conquests on the coasts of Africa, and among the Moors; and that, either from the aversion which a difference of religion is apt to inspire, or from the natural inco-

stancy of those people, who were altogether as unfaithful to sovereigns of their own nation, as they were to foreigners; that most of the cities along the coast of Africa, since the return of Charles V. had revolted more than once; that the wars which they maintained, and the squadrons which they fitted out to assist the emperor, drained the order of its best subjects, and cost them immense sums; that the cession, which that prince had made, or, to speak more properly, the burthensome condition which he had laid upon them of undertaking the defence of such a place, which he had annexed to the conveyance of the isle of Malta, ought to be considered as a fatal present to the order; and that the only remedy left was to deliver it back immediately to that prince; or, in case of his insisting on the knights continuing still there, to require that he himself should put it in a state of defence, and bear the expence of raising the fortifications, and other works necessary to enable it to sustain a siege.

What deference soever the council might have for the opinion of Botigella, they yet thought proper, in so important an affair, to consult such knights as were best skilled in fortification, and particularly those who had commanded in the place. These all unanimously concluded that it was not tenable; and, upon their report, the council dispatched the bailiff de Grolée to the emperor. Upon his arrival at the imperial court, he represented to the emperor, that it would be impossible to keep Tripoli, unless they fortified it with walls of a necessary height and thickness; that ditches of a proper breadth, and bulwarks for its better defence, were wanting; that unless these precautions should be taken, they would only expose all the knights there to be cut to pieces;

that if the town should be taken, it would be possible for the castle, which was built after the same fashion, to hold out above a few days; and, that it was perhaps more the emperor's interest to abandon such a weak place, to blow up the town, and fill up the mouth of the harbour. But the emperor, who was neither willing to be at the expense of fortifying it, nor to deprive himself of a place which served as a key to Africa, and cost him nothing for its defence, ordered the bailiff to tell the grand master from him, that he would neglect nothing to put Tripoli in a condition of defence. He desired the order to keep always a strong garrison in it, and that in case the infidels should besiege it, he would immediately send positive orders to the viceroy of Sicily, to throw in all the necessary succours. He added, that he hoped to be able in a little time, to drive all the Turkish corsairs from the coasts of Africa, and that till such time he could turn his arms on that side, the order would oblige him in joining their galleys to the fleet he had sent into the Mediterranean.

The bailiff, at his return, having given the emperor an account of the success of his embassy, immediately fitted out four galleys, having on board two hundred knights, under the command of Simon, bailiff of Lombardy, who joined the Christian fleet at Messina, which Andrew Doria, prince of Monaco, and great admiral to the emperor, commanded. This general was a Genoese, and born of a noble family, which he rendered still more illustrious by his prodigious bravery. King Francis I. and Clement VII. had both of them given him the command of their fleets. After having quitted the emperor's service, he went to the emperor's. This prince



whose intrigues were more formidable than his sword, and who was so artful in corrupting his enemy's generals, got this Genoese over to his side, by the offers he made him of an annual pension of 60,000 ducats, and also of maintaining constantly twelve galleys under his command; assuring him, at the same time, that Genoa should enjoy its liberty, under the emperor's protection, and that Savona should be reduced under their dominion. Doria, after having agreed to these articles, reported, in order to justify his changing sides, that the king of France did not pay him the subsidies stipulated for maintaining his galleys; that he had deprived him of the ransom he was to have for the prince of Orange, his prisoner of war; and that, notwithstanding all the instances he had used with the ministers of Francis I. in favour of the Genoese his countrymen, he yet could never prevail so far as to have them treated with less oppression and severity. It is said, that this last motive of complaint had a greater influence on his changing sides than all the rest; and that this general, who was fond of glory, flattered himself, that he should immortalize his name, by delivering his country from the dominion of the French. Probably too, under colour of the emperor's protection, and the shadow of this liberty, he might at the same time have intended to establish his own authority there, for the rule of the government.

Whatever might be the source of these different motives, it is certain, that France could hardly have suffered a more considerable loss, or the emperor have made a more beneficial acquisition; for he employed him equally against Solymán and Francis I. and in the present occasion, he not only commanded the vessels of Charles V. but had likewise

the supreme authority over all the fleet of the christian league.

The pope was also engaged in this league; the emperor and the order of Malta had made their business; now was to draw the Venetians in; but they carefully avoided all occasions of rupture with Solymán, a formidable power whose territories were adjoining to those of the republic. Dorin, in order to render them suspicious of Solymán, and make it seem as if these republicans were to act in concert with him, wrote to General Pezaro, their general, to this purport, that it would be necessary to attack the Turks, before the imperial squadrons should be joined. He sent them by a small bark, which, as he designed it, should fall into the infidels' hands; this they sent immediately to Solymán, who thereupon made bitter complaint of it to the bailo or ambassador of the commonwealth. In vain did that minister protest that the republic of Venice had no intelligence with Charles; his oaths and protestations made no great impression on Solymán. "There is," says that prince to him, "but one way left to justify your conduct, which is, that they immediately sign a league against the emperor, and join their ships and fleet, in order to attack his dominions." The senate, whose fundamental maxim was the observing of neutrality, rejected the proposal; and an accident happened at the same time, which furnished a plausible reason or pretence for a rupture.

The sultan's imperial galley being separated from the fleet by a storm, fell by night into the hands of the Venetians, when Alexander Contarini, prince of the army, taking it in the darkness, the vessel belonging to the corsairs, attacked it

the rais or commander, cut three hundred janissaries to pieces, and made himself master of it. Solyman made great complains on this subject, and demanded that Contarini should be delivered into his hands, to be punished; but not being able to attain this satisfaction, he declared war against the Venetians. Whatever share the knights might have in this war, it would be foreign to my present purpose to enter into the detail of it; all I shall observe is, that the Christian and Turkish fleets met near a bay of the Adriatic; that they cannonaded each other furiously; but that the Turks, who were under Barbarossa's command, finding themselves to be weaker, retired into the bay of Arta, to avoid coming to a general engagement; that several battles had been fought, but not one of them decisive; and, finally, that Doria, notwithstanding his having been earnestly solicited by the patriarch of Alexandria, who commanded the pope's squadron, and by the knights of St. John, had yet obstinately refused, under pretence that there was not wind enough for his ships to advance against the enemy, and had looked quietly on whilst Barbarossa made his escape, for fear of destroying the only general the enemy had who was formidable to his master; since that, as long as Barbarossa should be living, he would be necessary to the emperor; a piece of policy which both Barbarossa and Doria reciprocally observed; who, without any concerted intelligence between them, never pushed their advantage contrary to their respective interests, so far as to get rid of an enemy, who, though he were a rival, was yet of use to enhance their several talents and capacities.

The Christians were less successful at land than

they had been at sea. The conquest of Hungary had always made part of the vast project, or, to speak more properly, part of the chimera of a universal monarchy ascribed to Charles V. In consequence of which, Ferdinand king of the Romans, who was brother to the emperor, in concert with him, or rather by his orders, had actually invested the town of Buda; and Rocandorf, one of his generals, was carrying on the siege with great vigour. Solyman, who was jealous of any accession of power to the house of Austria, under pretence that Sepusius, the last king of Hungary, had, by his will, appointed him to be tutor to his infant son, sent Mahomet, one of his bashas, to throw succours into the place. The Turkish general attacked and forced the lines of the Austrians, cut above twenty thousand men to pieces, either put to flight, or took prisoners the poor remains of the army; and Solyman arriving soon after in Hungary, entered Buda, into which he put a strong garrison, under pretence of preventing the designs of Ferdinand; and, in order to cloak his usurpation, declared publicly, that as soon as the young king should be of age he would deliver him up the place.

Notwithstanding a solemn promise made, which ambitious princes never want pretences to excuse themselves from performing, this enterprise of the grand seignior alarmed the Hungarians no less than the Germans. No one doubted but that the emperor would bring a mighty force into the field, in order to rid himself of so formidable a neighbour: it would have been a sight altogether worthy the attention of other monarchs, to see those two great princes, both of them so powerful and ambitious, fighting against each other, and disputing the entire posses-

sion of Hungary in the field: but whether it was that Charles did not care to trust his glory to fortune, or that he flattered himself with succeeding in another enterprise, the success of which was less doubtful, that prince, whose designs were always impenetrable, left the defence of Hungary to the king, his brother, in order to attack Africa and fall on the dominions of Barbarossa. The absence of that corsair, who was gone to Constantinople, made him flatter himself that he should meet with a feeble opposition in the taking of Algiers; and he hoped to have the same success in the siege of this place as he had had in that of Tunis: for which end he issued out orders in Spain, in Naples, and in Sicily, for making preparations suitable to the greatness of the enterprise. Ferdinand Cortez, the Spaniard, who acquired so much glory by the discovery and conquest of Mexico, was appointed to the command of the armament to be raised in Spain: Ferdinand de Gonzaga, and Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroys of Sicily and Naples, carried on their preparations with the greatest application in those two kingdoms: they drew a body of cavalry from Germany and the county of Burgundy; and Camillo Colonna, Augustin Spinola, and Antonio Doria, having the commission of colonels, made levies of infantry all over Italy.

The grand master of Malta received a letter at the same time from the emperor, written in the most obliging terms, by which the knights were invited to join their forces to his, for the undertaking of a holy war, which, he assured them, was designed only for the destruction of the corsairs and the enemies of the order. So great was the number of knights who offered themselves for this expedition,

that Malta and the convent would have been left deserted, had not the grand master prudently limited this succour to four hundred knights. These went on board four galleys of the order, each knight being attended with two servants well armed; and George Schilling, great bailiff of Germany, and at that time general of the galleys of the order, was appointed to command the squadron, who, in the port of Bonifacio, joined part of the emperor's fleet, commanded by him in person, whence they went to Majorca, where the ships and galleys had orders to rendezvous before the end of September.

There was no one that could flatter himself with the hopes of succeeding in an enterprise which was undertaken when the season was so far advanced; but as the emperor pursued it with vigour, the courtiers, whose sole employment is flattery, were not willing to suggest to him a truth so contrary to his inclination; so that none but Andrew Doria, the great admiral, and the marquis del Guasto, general of the land forces, that presume to represent to him the perils to which he was going to expose himself; and Doria, the greatest seaman of his age, told him, that no pilot at that season durst venture to sea for any time without the utmost necessity; that the sea of Barbary was at that time very subject to storms, and that he was afraid lest a gust of wind should scatter his fleet, and prevent the success of his arms: and the venerable old man added, in his naval style, "Suffer yourself to be diverted from this enterprise; for if we should go, we shall be all lost, by God." To which the emperor replied, laughing, "Two-and-twenty years of empire for me, and threescore and twelve of life for you, ought to satisfy us, so as to make us both die con-

tented:" and so, without altering his resolution, he went on board, set sail towards Algiers, where, after having met with a violent storm, he arrived on the 24th, or as others have it, on the 26th of October.

Though the wind was down, yet the sea still ran so high, that they were forced to defer the landing for two days, in order to prevent the soldiers being forced to wade through the water up to the middle. They afterwards disembarked without any great opposition from the infidels, when sixty galleys put their troops ashore, and the great ships landed theirs in boats. After their disembarkation the army was found to consist of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse. The emperor, in order to prevent jealousies, which too often arises between troops of different nations, divided them into three bodies: the first was composed of Italians, to whom he joined the knights and soldiers of Malta, under the command of the grand bailiff, who received no orders but from the emperor; the Spaniards, all of them veterans, formed the second body; and the Germans, Burgundians, and a great number of volunteers, made up the third. The Spaniards led the van, the Italians composed the main body, where the emperor was in person, and the Germans were placed in the rear. Each of these bodies had three field-pieces at the head of their line, to defend them from the Arabs, who attacked without order, did what execution they could, then wheeled off, and were incessantly returning to the charge.

The emperor ordered the battalion of Malta to extend itself to the left of the main battle, to repulse those light horse; the knights were on foot, armed with cuirasses and headpieces, and a long or half pike in their hands. The author of a relation

sent to the pope, observes, that their subrevests were all of damask or crimson velvet, on which their white crosses being placed, made a glittering show; and that they discovered such an air of grandeur and intrepidity as gave terror to all such barbarians as durst approach them. The emperor's headquarters were marked out between two brooks, and he planted heavy artillery all around a little hill, which at the same time played both upon the town and the country.

The city of Algiers, built in form of an amphitheatre, stands on the declivity of a hill over against the port, the foundation of which is ascribed to the son of Juba, king of Mauritania. Barbarossa, at his setting out for Constantinople, committed the government of it to an old eunuch, named Hascen, who was an aga, and a renegado of the island of Sardinia, a great seaman, and one in whom he entirely confided. The emperor, before he attacked the place, dispatched a gentleman to him to persuade him to surrender it. The envoy, in order to determine him to it, gave him an account of the emperor's power, his forces, his land and sea armies, at the same time offering him considerable sums; and concluding his discourse with a representation, that he ought to make use of this occasion to return into his own country, and of being readmitted into the bosom of the church, from which he had been unhappily divorced by his unfortunate circumstances. The eunuch heard him out with patience, but all the answer he returned him was, "That it was a great piece of folly for any one to take upon himself to advise an enemy; but that it was a much greater to hearken to the advice that an enemy gave." Upon which he dismissed the gentleman.



The governor had with him eight hundred Turks, who were old and experienced soldiers, and about six thousand inhabitants, partly Moors, and partly refugees of Granada, all bearing arms, and all to a man resolved to be killed upon the spot, rather than fall again under the dominion of the Spaniards. The aga had, likewise sent money and presents to several captains of the Arabs, in order to engage them to scour the country, and harass the camp of the Christians; to which they had but too natural a propensity, from the genius of their nation, which subsists only by incursions and plunder. All the plain was soon covered over with them; most of them had long javelins, which they hurled with so much dexterity, that the Christians found it a very difficult matter to parry the stroke.

Whilst these light horse were continuing their skirmishes, there arose, as night was coming on, a terrible storm, attended with an excessive cold rain, which poured down in such floods, that it filled the Christian camp with water. The rain soaked the ground to such a degree, that they could march only in dirt and mire; besides, as they had not had time sufficient for the landing of their tents and equipages, the whole army had no covering but the sky; so that the soldiers' matches were quite put out, and the powder in their pouches all wet. The governor, in order to make his advantage of this disaster, sallied out at day-break, with part of the garrison, who first fell upon three companies, that were posted upon a stone bridge, which led to one of the gates of the town; and the infidels, finding these soldiers benumbed with cold, cut them to pieces. This little success encouraged them to fall upon the emperor's quarter; but the colonels Ca-

lonna and Spinola ran thither, at the head of their regiments, sustained by the knights of Malta, who, though on foot, fell in so furiously among the Turkish and Moorish cavalry, that they killed a great number of them, and dismounted several. The author to whom I am obliged for part of this relation, says,\* that a French knight, brother Nicholas de Villegagnon, throwing himself, with an impetuosity natural to his nation, into the midst of the infidels, was wounded in the left arm by a Moorish horseman, who struck him with his lance; but that the knight, having missed the thrust he made at him with his pike, as the Moor was turning his horse to give him a second blow, the knight, who was very tall, and of a strength proportionable to his stature, leaped upon the crupper of his enemy's horse, gave him a stab, and threw him to the ground. Nor were his companions inferior to him in bravery; for they all rallied about the standard of the order, when Ferdinand de Gonzaga, one of the emperor's lieutenant-generals, addressing himself to the grand bailiff of the order, cried out, "Courage, my brave commander; it is not enough for us to beat these dogs, we must pursue them, and enter with them into Algiers; it is destined for your knights alone to finish a war before it be begun, and take a place of such strength without arms or artillery." The knights, who, by this time, had little strength left but what their courage supplied, needed not to be encouraged with such discourses; but, inflamed with the highest ardour, pursued the enemy to the very gates of the city, and were just ready to throw themselves into the place, when the governor, who

\* Relation du siege d'Alger, adressée au pape Paul III. par le secretaire de son legat.



was resolved to sacrifice all his soldiers who were out of the city to the fury of the Christians, ordered the gates to be shut. The abovementioned writer relates, that the chevalier Ponce de Savignac, a Frenchman, who carried the standard of the order, fixed his dagger in the gate, as a proof that he had advanced as far as it was possible for him to go. As the rain ceased in the morning, the old governor, seeing from the walls that his soldiers had none to contend with but the knights, and some Italian companies, ordered the artillery, which was upon the town rampart on that side, to be levelled against them; and at the same time, in order to prevent their retreat, he made a second sally with the best troops of his garrison, armed with iron cross-bows, which were of great use to them in rainy weather. They were now come a second time to a close engagement, when most of the Italians, who were raw soldiers, that had never seen a battle, and being also benumbed with cold, either fled, or suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, without offering to make the least defence. The emperor, having notice of the danger to which the knights were exposed, sent some companies of Germans to their succour; the bailiff Schilling, of the same nation, put himself at their head, made a fresh charge upon the infidels, pushed them a second time to the gates of Algiers, and brought back his troops covered with glory and wounds. The infidels shot poisoned arrows, so that all who were wounded with them died; and among the rest, brother Ponce de Savignac, standard-bearer of the order, the knight who had stuck his dagger in the gate of Algiers. This brave man, notwithstanding his having received a large wound from a cross-bow, and though

he felt the poison creeping forward, and approaching his heart, yet had the resolution and strength to carry his standard, supported only by a soldier, always aloft, and would not quit it till the moment he expired. It is said, that the order, besides this knight, and the chevalier de Villars, of the language of Auvergne, who was disabled by his wound, lost above seventy-five knights on this occasion; among which are reckoned brother Diego de Coutreas, a Spaniard; brother Lopez Alvarez, a Navarette; brother John di Pennas, a Castilian; brother Peter de Ressay; John Babot, Charles de Gueval, and John Pinard, Frenchmen; brother Joseph de la Cosa, and brother Maria Catracanti, Italians, three chaplains of the order, and about four hundred soldiers in the service of it.

But this was inconsiderable, if compared to that which the Emperor sustained that day, by the loss of the greatest part of his fleet. Black clouds began to obscure the light of the sun, after which followed such a violent storm, that it seemed as if the winds, the sea, the earth, lightning, thunder, rain, and all the elements confounded, had conspired to destroy the army of the Christians. The ships, driven from their anchors by the violence of the storm, appeared one while to be carried aloft in the clouds by mountains of water, and the next moment sunk down in the gaping ocean, and seemed to be plunged to the very bottom of it. Some of them, tossed by the violence of the winds, the pilots and mariners being no longer able to manage them, struck, and were dashed to pieces against one another; others, driven along the coast by the force of the tempest, split upon the rocks, and were beat to pieces; so that in less than half an hour, fifteen galleys and eighty-

greater was, that these ships were laden with provisions; by which misfortune the land army lost all hopes of subsistence; and especially in a country that was desert, and in the possession of barbarians, who triumphed in the calamities of the Christians.

In this extremity, some officers of galleys, seeing their loss inevitable, and hurried on with despair, endeavoured to run aground upon the coast, in hopes that the storm would throw them upon some place nearer land, whence some of them might be fortunate enough to save themselves, either by swimming, or getting upon shattered pieces of their vessels. Several took this sad resolution, and either perished miserably, or else were killed by the Arabs, who lined the shore, and who murdered these poor creatures unmercifully, without caring to make them slaves, as the historian Ulloa, whose father was in this fatal expedition, informs us. This author relates further, that the vessel of Don Antonio Carrero, a flag-officer, having been split to pieces, a young Spanish maiden of exquisite beauty, who was his mistress, and was on board his ship, being thrown by the waves upon the shore, an Arab, at the sight of her rich clothes, and the jewels she had on, ran immediately to seize upon her as his prey; and without being the least moved with either the prayers, tears, or even the charms of that young lady, inhumanly murdered her in cold blood.

The sea was now covered with broken vessels, pieces of timber, and bodies of men and horses, which were floating up and down. The galley of Janetin Doria, the great admiral's nephew, whom he loved so entirely, running designedly aground, stuck fast in the sand on the sea-shore. He would

have been killed by the Arabs, had not the emperor, who was a melancholy spectator of the wreck, sent down Don Antonio d'Arragon, with some Italian companies, who saved him from those barbarians. Historians say, that the admiral, hearing of the danger he had run, cried out, with tears in his eyes, "My nephew was exposed to that misfortune, to teach me before I die to weep at sea." Twelve galleys belonging to the admiral, four commanded by Virginio Ursini, several galleys of Naples and Sicily, and three hundred colonels, captains of ships, and other officers by sea and land, and upwards of eight thousand men, soldiers and mariners, were lost on this occasion.

The mariners of a galley of Malta, called The Bastard, having endeavoured to run her aground on a flat shore, where they might have saved their lives, brother Francis d'Azavedo, who commanded her, perceiving their design, opposed it with the utmost intrepidity; and when the seamen, grown bolder by the common danger, represented to him, that the order would be no great sufferers by the loss of the hulk of a galley, which had already served for upwards of twenty years, and had been repaired and refitted several times, the commander, laying his hand on his sword, cried out, "The order has entrusted me with this galley, and I will kill the first man who shall offer to sink her; so that we must either perish here, or save her." This heroic resolution, and the courage and intrepidity of the knight, inspired his crew with the same bravery; and himself setting them a pattern, and scattering his money plentifully amongst them. they all set their hands to the pump; so that, notwithstanding the vast quantity of water that was got into the

hold, he yet saved his galley. Another belonging to the order, called *La Catarinetta*, commanded by John Barrientos, narrowly escaped being lost by another unhappy accident; for his helm being broke by a violent shock of the waves, the vessel having norudder, and being driven by the storm, was going to split upon the rocks: but two bold seamen, by ropes let down naked into the sea, fastened on another rudder, which they had in reserve; and, without any tools but their bare hands, put the needle through the eye of the helm, and by that means saved the galley.

Nor was the land army in less danger, the soldiers having neither tents, equipage, ammunition, nor even a day's provision, and destitute of the necessary remedies to cure the wounded. The author of the relation, from whom I have taken the above-mentioned particulars, speaks to pope Paul III. to whom he sent it, as follows: "I can assure your holiness that I saw five knights of Malta, and above thirty gentlemen volunteers, faint, and lose all their blood in the mire, without any one being able to give them the least assistance: by the emperor's orders they killed all the horses of the army, and distributed them among the soldiers by companies."

That prince afterwards raised the siege, and kept the same order and method in his return, as he had observed at his landing. The knights of Malta, though most of them were wounded, had yet the post of honour, and were put in the rear, together with the soldiers of the order, and such of the army as were best armed. The author of the relation adds, that they were obliged to oppose the attacks of the governor of Algiers, who made continual charges upon them, at the head of his cavalry, in order to



inconmode the march of the army. At last the Christians came in the evening to the side of a brook called Alcaras, which the great rains had rendered unfordable, which obliged them to encamp, and spend the night there; all which the workmen of the army employed in building a bridge, which they made of the shattered remains of the vessels that were found upon the shore; this being done, the army passed over it the next day. After three days march they arrived near Cape Matafas, where the poor remains of the fleet had put in. Here the army reimarked with great joy at quitting the shore; but they had scarce been three hours under sail, when a new storm arose; the fleet was again dispersed; several ships were lost; and, among the rest, one with seven hundred Spaniards on board, which was cast away in the emperor's sight, without there being the least possibility of giving it any succour. In fine, the Christians, after passing through so many dangers, and in continual fear of being swallowed up in the sea, arrived at the port of Bugia, which had been in the Spaniards hands ever since its being taken by Don Pedro de Navarre, general to their catholic majesties. Muley Hascen, king of Tunis, came hither with provisions and refreshments for the emperor and his army, who received him very graciously, and assured him of his protection; when the weather growing fair, he set sail on the 16th of November for Carthage, where he arrived on the 25th of the same month; but before he reimarked he dismissed the bailiff of Germany, and all the knights, with the highest testimonies of his satisfaction, who being in three galleys that were half shattered, with great difficulty regained the harbour of Malta.

While the vessels and galleys of the order were detained in Africa at the siege of Algiers, the channel of Malta was often filled with corsairs, who kept the harbour in a manner blocked up, insulted the coasts of the island, and that of Goza, and carried off all such inhabitants as had the ill fortune to fall into their hands. The grand bailiff, at his return, had no sooner refitted his galleys, but he put out to sea again, gave them chase, cleared the channel of those pirates, pursued them as far as the coast of Africa, took several rals or captains, and spread the terror of his name, and the dread of his arms over all those seas.

Tempestuous weather obliged him to put into the port of Tripoli, he was informed by an envoy from Muley Hascen, king of Tunis, who was dispatched to the governor of the place, that Barbarossa, incensed that the knights should appear at the head of all the enterprises that the Christians engaged in against the African Turks, was soliciting at the Porte for an order to lay siege to Tripoli; that Merat Aga, his lieutenant, was making preparations for it at Tachora; for which purpose he had raised a redoubt in the village of Adabus, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and put an advanced body in it, which kept Tripoli in a manner blocked up on that side: he added farther, that Hascen's correspondence and union with the emperor and the knights, had rendered him odious to the Turks, and other princes of his religion; that several of the principal cities of his kingdom, as Susa, Monaster, Mahedia or Africa, Esfaeos and Calibia, had revolted, some of which had received the Turks into them, whilst others pretended to maintain themselves in an absolute independence by their single

Algiers, under the protection of Barbarossa; that there was no doubt but they would soon see that formidable corsair, at the head of an army, besieging Tripoli and Tunis: and that Hasoen was going to set out immediately to wait upon the emperor, who was in Italy, to ask for those succours which he hoped to obtain from him, as he owed him for his sovereign.

We have already observed, that the knights had solicited the emperor either to put Tripoli in a state of defence; or else to give them leave to fill up the port, blow up the castle, and abandon a city that was so chargeable to the order. The grand bailiff, after having reviewed the place again, held a council of war, at which the governor and principal knights of the garrison were present; and, pursuant to their unanimous resolution, they, with the consent of the grand master and the council, sent new ambassadors to Charles V. who were to renew their instances, and to represent to him, that it would be impossible to keep a place that was open on all sides, without securing it with good walls, and fortifying them with outworks; that the country afforded neither stone nor lime for those different works; that they could not get any from Malta, without a great expence; not to mention, that the knights found it difficult enough to fortify themselves there; and that in case his imperial majesty should think it proper for them to continue longer in so defenceless a place, it then was necessary for him to order his viceroy of Sicily to send money, workmen, and materials thither forthwith; that in order to prevent the siege they were threatened with, and whilst

they were at work upon the fortifications, some companies of Sicilian troops should be put into the place ; and that the galleys of that kingdom, with those of the order, should guard the sea, in order to hinder the infidels from making descents, and opposing the works they were forced to raise for the security of the city.

This embassy had no better success than the former: for the emperor, afraid lest the Turks should attempt the conquest of Sicily, but at the same time foreseeing that they would never employ their forces on that side, so long as the knights should be masters of Tripoli, was well pleased to have those warriors, at the price of their blood and treasure, employ his enemies forces in Africa ; so that he signified to the ambassadors of the order, by his ministers, that he was desirous that the knights, pursuant to the treaty of the fiefment of Malta, should maintain themselves in Tripoli ; to which he added specious promises of a mighty succour, in case the place should be besieged ; but he excused himself from granting the troops and money demanded of him, because of the pressing occasion he himself had for these, in order to be able to oppose the forces of the French and Turks, who both attacked his own dominions, or those of the king of Romans his brother, at the same time, in Flanders, in Italy, and in Hungary.

The grand bailiff was sensibly concerned to see the ambassadors return without the least succour, and with having been fed with nothing but empty promises: however, as he was a man of great courage, though destitute of every thing, he yet was not wanting in what he owed to himself and his order ; so that before he left Tripoli, he resolved to

put it in a condition, in case it should be besieged, of holding out till such time as succours could be brought either from Malta or Sicily. To effect which he employed his crew of galley-slaves in sinking and widening the ditches in several places. They raised the walls, and added several works of earth to the castle, in order to keep off all approaches to it; at the same time he himself, and all the knights of his squadron and garrison, attended upon the workmen, and generously employed themselves in those military labours. But as, after all, fortifications which had been raised in so much haste, could at most serve only to protract the loss of the city for some days, the grand bailiff, knowing that the emperor was infinitely jealous of his glory, and would therefore make extraordinary efforts to support Muley Hascen in a kingdom which he considered as his own conquest, wrote to that Moorish king, pressing him to hasten his departure, and go immediately to the emperor's court, flattering himself that the succours which he should obtain from that prince, would serve both for the preservation of Tripoli; and that the Turks, seeing an army of Charles V. on the coast of Africa, so long as it should continue there, would never run the hazard to form the siege of Tripoli.

Muley, pursuant to this advice, and his own interest, prepared to set out for Italy, leaving the government of his kingdom and his capital, during his absence, to a Moor, called Mahomet Temtes, or the Stammerer: a renegado of the isle of Corsica, Caid Ferrath by name, was to command in the castle; and as the king of Tunis was under continual apprehensions on account of the restless temper of Prince Muley Hamida, his eldest son, in

order to employ him out of the way, he sent him towards Cape-Bon, with a few companies of Arabs, to reduce some sheiks, or little lords, who refused to pay the tributes which had been laid upon them.

Muley, after having settled this order in his dominions, set out from thence, passed by Goletta, to visit prince Mahomet his son, who was there in hostage with several Moors; and, after conferring with Don Franciscode Tovar on the occasion of his voyage, left his jewels and most valuable effects in his hands; putting at the same time great presents for the emperor and his ministers on board his ship: after which he embarked, and whether it were from an ostentation inseparable from royalty, or for his own security and defence, in case he should be attacked by corsairs in his way, he took with him an escort of five hundred men, who were all either officers of war or courtiers, who served him as a guard. Muley met with a good passage, and arrived without any obstacle in Sicily, from whence he went to Naples, where the viceroy received him with great magnificence: from thence he dispatched expresses to desire an interview with the emperor; but that prince, whose presence was immediately necessary in Germany, on account of some disturbances which the Lutherans had raised, sent orders to the viceroy to confer with the Moorish prince on the subject of his voyage, and after that send him an account of it.

## BOOK XI.

WHILST the king of Tunis and the minister of Charles V. were conferring together about the best methods that could be employed for opposing Bar-

loyalty to Muley, whom he had not sincerely guarded against; an enemy who afterwards stripped him of his crown. Prince Hamida, Muley's eldest son, had a favourite called Mahomet, who by flattery, and a servile compliance, the usual arts of courtiers, had gained his entire confidence. This favourite had concealed, in the most secret recesses of his heart, a mortal hatred, and a violent desire of vengeance against the king, who had put his father to death. He now imagined, that that prince's absence presented him with a favourable opportunity of gratifying his resentment. Upon this he raised suspicions in Hamida's mind, with regard to the king his father's voyage into a Christian country, telling him, at the same time, that he had reason to fear lest Muley should, at his death, leave his crown to prince Mahomet his second son; that this was perhaps the motive of the conferences which he had with the governor of Goletta; that every body knew he had put all his treasures into his hands, and that in all probability the sole motive of his visiting the emperor was in order to gain his approbation of this disposition, and obtain from him, as from the sovereign lord, an investiture in favour of his brother. Hamida being a young ambitious prince, and burning with the desire of reigning, took fire at the discourse, and, in concert with his favourite, got it to be whispered about in Tunis, that the king his father being fallen grievously ill at Naples, had before his death desired to be baptised, and had accordingly turned Christian.

In confidence of these reports, of which he himself was the secret author, and as if he had been certain of his father's death, he came to Tunis, and

went to the palace, in order to take possession of it; but the viceroy, who was a resolute and austere old man, reproached him with his too great facility in giving credit to such evil tidings; and having told him that he would give Muley an account of his great eagerness to succeed him, he obliged him to retire from the capital. Hamida, in confusion at the ill success of his artifice, and uneasy at the consequences with which it might be attended, retired to a country-house some miles distant from Tunis. No sooner was he gone out of the place but the viceroy, getting on board a bark, went to the castle of Goletta, in order to know from the governor of it what news he had received from Sicily and Naples; when being informed that the king his master was in perfect health, he returned back with joy to his government.

But Hamida's favourite made his advantage of this voyage, and spread new reports among the people; as that Muley's death was but too certain; that the journey which the viceroy had just made, with so much haste and precipitation to Goletta, was purely upon that account; that it was well known that his brother Adulzes, and young Ferrath, son to the governor of the castle of Tunis, were brought up with Mahomet, and were with him in hostage in the fort of Goletta; that the viceroy had gone thither for no other end but in order to adjust with them and the Christian governor the surest measures for the placing of Mahomet on the throne of Tunis; and that they would infallibly see an army of Spaniards, in a very little time, bring back that young prince to Tunis, and proclaim him sovereign of that kingdom.

The people, who are always fond of novelty, rea-



proved with a great many fabulous circumstances. The partisans of Hamida were particularly careful to publish, that young Mahomet his brother, having been brought up among the Christians, had secretly embraced the Christian religion, as being the surest pledge he could give the emperor of his fidelity.

The fear of having a Christian for their sovereign alarmed the whole city. They meet, cabal together, and, in fine, send deputies to Hamida, to invite him to come to the succour of a people who were desirous of setting the crown on his head. They found him walking in his gardens, buried in a profound melancholy, detesting the false step which his favourite had made him take; and in a thorough persuasion that the king his father, at his return, would never pardon him the fatal eagerness which he had discovered to ascend the throne. But the news of the commotion of the people removed these melancholy apprehensions, and made them give way to joy; upon which he assembled his partisans, marched at their head, and, favoured by the people, enters Tunis, surprises the viceroy and the governor of the castle, causes them to be murdered, massacres the most zealous subjects of Muley, seizes on the palace; when the young tyrant begins his authority by the most abominable incest, by forcing the dearest of his father's wives to his embraces.

As soon as the king of Tunis heard these dismal tidings, being afraid lest his son, in order to support himself on the throne, should strengthen himself with the protection and succour of Barbarossa, he resolved to return immediately into Africa; when, by the viceroy's consent, he levied two thousand

men, which he got together among the banditti and exiles, putting an old officer of the country called l'Ofredo at their head; after which he embarked, and arrived at Goletta, where he had the confirmation of the news, together with the various circumstances of Hamida's revolt. The governor advised him not to stir out of the place, till such time as he should have an exact account of the forces of his enemy, and the dispositions of his subjects: but Muley, possessed with a notion that his son would never dare to stand his presence, and encouraged by l'Ofredo, who was in hopes of enriching himself by the sacking of Tunis, advanced forward. That which finally determined him to take so dangerous a step, especially with so few forces, was, that some traitors, by the secret orders of Hamida, came to meet him on the road, as so many faithful subjects, who were come to fight under the banner of their lawful sovereign; telling him also, at the same time, that they had left his son in a terrible consternation at the news of his return, and in great irresolution what measures to take; and that he designed to retire to the farthest part of the country, and take refuge with some Arabs, who were his friends.

Imposed upon by the accounts of these traitors, Muley hastened his march. At his drawing near Tunis, he saw some squadrons sally out, who by their countenances, which wore an air of fear, seemed to advance only with a view to reconnoitre his troops. They made however some light skirmishes; but whilst this party of rebels was amusing Muley, a greater number advanced, who began a general engagement. The troops having closed together, and begun a bloody battle, Muley, hurried on by his courage, and still more by his resentment, brave-

received a wound; which the soldiers believing to be mortal, it immediately cooled their eagerness and fire. At the same time, a great body of foot, composed of Arabs, whom Hamida had taken into his pay, sallied out of the forest of Olives, near Tunis. The Christians now saw themselves suddenly surrounded; so that notwithstanding their courage and resolution, the infidels, who were superior in number, cut them to pieces. Some of these endeavouring to fly over the lake to Goletta, were drowned; and the unfortunate Muley, being abandoned both by the Christians and Moors, was taken prisoner. They carried him immediately to his son; but that traitor, who yet retained some sense of shame for his crime, would not see him, but ordered him to be put in irons, and thrown into a dungeon; and the next day he sent executioners to him, to offer him his choice either of death or blindness; when he choosing the latter, they immediately thrust a burning lancet into both his eyes.

This surprising revolution in a kingdom that lay so near Tripoli, and which was in alliance with the order of St. John, threw the knights into a great consternation; such especially of them, as saw themselves in Tripoli, at a distance from Malta, quite surrounded with infidels, and in a city that had no fortifications, and which was commanded from several places, expected every moment to be besieged. Ferdinand de Bracamont, who was governor there, despairing to be able to defend it for any time, and under pretence that there was no honour to be acquired in the defence of so weak a place, used great instances with the grand master to be recalled, and

at last got leave to quit his government, and had for his successor Christopher de Solertarsan, the great chancellor, with whose conduct they had afterwards as much reason to be dissatisfied.

However, as in a post of such importance there was need of a governor of great experience, and equally wise and intrepid, the grand master and council thought proper to recal him, and put in his room the commander de la Valette, a knight of the language of Provence, who, from the time of his profession at Malta, had never stirred from thence, unless it were to go a cruising against the infidels. He had, in these expeditions, met sometimes with good, sometimes with ill fortune, but had ever discovered the same courage and resolution in both; he had also been taken by the infidels, but the moment he got out of prison had always gone a cruising again. His very name carried terror along with it in the seas of Africa and Sicily; and, among the great number of knights who went out a cruising, the infidels had not an enemy whom they dreaded more than they did him. He was no sooner arrived at Tripoli than he made a review of the officers and soldiers, as well of the Christians as of the Moors in alliance with the order. All these he furnished with proper weapons, broke all such as appeared to him unfit to bear them, or were convicted of having played them away for want of money, and punished blasphemers severely. He afterwards sent away all useless persons out of the town and castle, erected a magazine of provisions, added new fortifications to the place, as far as its bad situation, and the little money he had would allow him; when, causing an exact plan to be made of it, and of all the coast of Africa, he dispatched a knight with it to the em-

peror, to show him of what importance it was for his Italian, and even for his Spanish territories, to keep Tripoli from falling into the hands of the infidels, particularly into those of Dragut, who was at that time chief of all the corsairs of Barbary, and who had succeeded Barbarossa in that post, and in his design of driving the knights from the coast of Africa.

Dragut, of whom mention is now made, was born in a little village of Natolia, lying over against the isle of Rhodes. His father and mother were Mahometans, both of them poor, who subsisted by tilling the ground and the labour of their hands: but this obscure and humble way of life not suiting the warm and restless temper of young Dragut, he listed himself, when but twelve years of age, under an officer of the artillery who served on board the grand seignior's galleys. He was at first a cabin-boy, then a common sailor, next a pilot, and afterwards, by his patron's instructions, an excellent gunner, in which capacity he served several years on board of different vessels; when, having gained some money, he came to be a partner in a brigantine of corsairs. After this he soon got a galliot to himself, and made considerable prizes with it, on which he increased his armament, and made himself to be dreaded over all the Levant. There was not one pilot among the infidels who had so perfect a knowledge of the islands, the ports and roads of the Mediterranean, as Dragut; but as all who sailed in the seas of Turkey, at that time, depended in some measure on Barbarossa, the grand seignior's admiral, Dragut sought his protection, and went to Algiers to offer him his service.

The reputation of this corsair had arrived there

before him; and Barbarossa had been well informed of his valour, and particularly of his capacity in the navigating of vessels, for which reason he was glad to engage a man of so much merit in his service. He employed him for several years on various expeditions, in which he acquitted himself to his general's satisfaction, and with extraordinary success. After having passed through the various degrees of service, Barbarossa made him his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a squadron of twelve galleys,

From that time there never passed a summer but this terrible corsair ravaged the coasts of Naples and Sicily. No Christian ship durst venture to go from Italy to Spain but it was immediately snapped up; and, when the sea did not furnish him with prizes, he made himself ample amends by descents on the coasts, when he plundered towns and villages, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery.

The emperor, tired with the complaints which he received from all quarters concerning Dragut, ordered Andrew Doria, his admiral, to go in quest of him, find him out, and, cost what it would, to stop his progress, and clear the sea of him. Doria, on the receipt of the emperor's orders, immediately fitted out all the vessels and galleys that were in a condition to bear the sea; and, as that old general was satiated with glory, in order to put his nephew, Janinetto Doria, in a fair way of acquiring his share of it, he left the expedition to him. Young Doria immediately set sail, sought for Dragut, and was at last lucky enough to meet with him along the coast of the isle of Corsica, in the port or road of Giralatta, a castle situated between Calvi and Lajazzo. The corsair, who knew nothing of the

emperor's fleet being at sea, thought himself safe in that creek; but he soon found himself shut up in it, and the cannon both of the castle and the vessels continually annoying him. He at first defended himself with his usual courage; but the superior fire of the Christians overpowered him, and he saw, likewise, at the same time, all the coasts of the island lined with the inhabitants in arms, a fierce people, who ran to contribute to his defeat, in order to be revenged on him for having so often ravaged their villages.

In this extremity Dragut had no other resource than to put up the white flag, when he desired to enter into a negociation, and demanded terms in quality of a prisoner of war. But all the composition he could obtain was, to redeem his life at the price of his liberty; so that he was obliged to surrender himself to the Christian general, together with all the galleys he had under his command: on which they brought him and his officers on board the admiral-galley, to young Doria, who not yet having a beard, the old corsair, transported with rage, cried out, "Must I, at these years, see myself become a slave to a little smock-faced boy?" The historians of that age relate, that he made use of a term that was much more offensive, and which modesty forbids me to repeat; and that Jannetin, provoked with so outrageous an affront, struck him more than once on the face, and ordered him to be chained.

Dragut remained a slave for four years together, and, though they offered any terms for his ransom, yet they could never prevail to have his liberty restored. But the Genoese being afterwards alarmed to see the famous Barbarossa, with a hundred gal-

leys, in the river of Genoa, demanded Dragut from Doria, when, to prevent their territory from being ravaged, they sent him back, with presents, to the sultan's admiral.

Barbarossa immediately restored him to his former post, and gave him a detachment of his galleys. The ill treatment he received while a slave, had increased his natural hatred to the Christians; whereupon he over-ran all the coasts of the kingdom of Naples, took and sacked Castel-Lamara, and most of the villages of the coast, made a great number of slaves, and a few days afterwards took a galley of the order, that had been separated from the squadron in a storm, on board of which he found seventy thousand crowns, that were designed for the fortifications of Tripoli; an irreparable loss with respect to that place, as well as to those to whom it belonged. Barbarossa was now returned to Constantinople, where, notwithstanding his being upwards of eighty years of age, he passed his days and nights with the fairest of his slaves; but happening to carry his debauch too far, he was found dead in his bed.

Solyman was sensibly concerned at this loss; and, to fill up his place, ordered all the corsairs of his dominions to submit to Dragut, in quality of their general, but without honouring him with the dignity of admiral, notwithstanding which, he entrusted him with all the authority he had in the southern parts, and on the coast of Africa.

The ambition of Dragut grew up with his power, so that he resolved, in imitation of Barbarossa, to seize on some strong place and good port, into which, by virtue of Solyman's consent and protection, he might bring his prizes, and make it a kind



of petty state and principality for himself. Full of these important views, and even before the orders of the Porte had determined in what manner the campaign should be carried on, he got together, during winter, all the corsairs that were in those seas, and, putting himself at their head, drove the Spaniards out of the towns of Susa, Monester and Fagues, all of them places that had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Tunis, but which, being open, and without any fortifications, received indifferently into their ports the strongest party, whichever it might be, that happened to be masters of the sea; so that they had passed several times successively from the dominion of the Moors, the natural princes of the country, to that of the Turkish corsairs, and afterwards fell under the dominion of the Spaniards.

Dragut made himself master of them with the same facility; but as he foresaw that it would be impossible to maintain himself in them against the united forces of the emperor, and that as soon as spring should come, he should infallibly be besieged by the galleys of Naples and Sicily, he cast his eyes on the town of Africa, otherwise called *Mehédia*, and known in the time of the Romans by the name of *Adrumetum*. This city, which lies between Tunis and Tripoli, was built upon a narrow slip of land jutting out into the sea; they called it *Little Africa*, as being one of the most considerable places in that quarter of our globe: it was regularly fortified; its walls were very high, strengthened on the inside with ramparts of an extraordinary thickness, provided with towers and bulwarks, and there was a large train of artillery in it, all in good order. There was also, above the town, and on an eminence that

commanded it, a fort or kind of castle, which served for a citadel. The harbour was large, safe, and sheltered from all winds; there was also another that was smaller, and appropriated to the galleys, which they shut up with iron rails. The sea washed the walls of the place, and encompassed it on all sides, except only in one part, where it joined to the main land.

The inhabitants, who were all Moors and Mahometans, revolting from the dominion of the kings of Tunis, their natural princes, had formed a commonwealth among themselves; and for fear of being surprised, or of any attempt that should be made upon their liberty, would not admit either Turks or Christians into their city; and whenever, from a necessity of trading, they allowed of any foreign vessels coming into their harbour, they never suffered but a few to come in at a time, and that, too, with such precautions as secured them from being surprised.

This place, such as we have represented it, became the object of Dragut's ambitious wishes: but as he had not forces sufficient to attack it openly, and that he was not certain whether the grand seignior might approve of his employing his arms in that enterprise, he resolved to supply with artifice what he wanted in strength, and endeavour to take it by means of some intelligence which he might gain within the place; being persuaded, that princes very seldom disavow even the most unjust enterprises, when the succeeding in them turns to their advantage; for which end, and in order the better to reconnoitre the place, he sometimes put into the port, with a light brigantine or galliot only, and obliged his soldiers to observe a complai-

sance and decorum, that is rarely found among corsairs; after which he insensibly contracted an acquaintance with one of the chief magistrates, named Ibrahim-Barat, who commanded one of the principal towers that flanked the walls of the town. Dragut cultivated this new friendship with presents, consisting of the most curious and valuable things he could meet with in his prizes; which indeed is the only method to gain the confidence of such barbarians, and even too frequently that of Christians. He next began to insinuate to him, that he would freely admit him as a partner in all those prizes which he daily made, making him sensible of the immense profit that would accrue to him from such a partnership: but at the same time he observed to him, that in order to make this union stronger, and their partnership more durable, it were to be wished, that he could be admitted into the city, in quality of a citizen. The Moor, tempted by the hopes of gain, undertook to make the proposal to the council; but as it was a corsair who made the proposal, it was rejected by all the magistrates, and Ibrahim was severely reprimanded for having been the first who had ever offered such a proposal. The Moor, full of trouble and vexation to see himself refused, went to greater lengths than perhaps he at first thought to go: Dragut, thinking him capable of attempting any thing to be revenged, and in order to make advantage of the heat of his resentment, made a proposal to him, that he should receive him into the tower of the city which he commanded; and, offering him considerable sums, he brought him to accede to it. The covetous Moor, unable to resist the temptation, entered entirely into Dragut's measures; after which their bargain was soon con-

having certain information that Doria had not troops enough on board his fleet to form the siege of Africa, either in order to avoid coming up with him, or else to make a diversion till such time as he might be satisfied of his designs, he over-ran the coast of Spain, where he continued his usual ravages.

Doria, pursuant to the emperor's orders, landed his small body of troops at Cape Bon, and seized on the fort of Calibia, the old Clupea of the Romans, from whence he advanced up to the gates of Monester. At the approach of the Christian troops, which did not appear to be very numerous, the Turks, together with the inhabitants that had taken arms in their favour, made a sally, not so much with any design of fighting, as to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy. But the knights, who had the van, and were sustained by a Spanish regiment, sparing them the trouble of coming up to them, advanced at a great pace, came up with them, forced the Moors reluctantly to come to an engagement, killed a great number, put the rest to flight, and pursued them so close, that they arrived at the city along with them, and by that means made themselves masters of it; part of the inhabitants, who had not been concerned in the sally, together with such Turks as had escaped the first fury of the victors, took refuge with the governor in the castle. Doria summoned the commander to surrender, and upon his refusal planted his batteries, and the artillery played upon the fort. The Christian admiral imagined it dishonorable to attack such an inconsiderable place according to the ordinary rules followed on such occasions; and therefore, as soon as a breach was made, without examining whether it was large enough, he ordered them to prepare for

the assault. The inhabitants would willingly capitulated; but the governor, an old corsair, had a number of his brother pirates with him, and he utterly rejected the proposal. His boldness and Doria's precipitation, caused the attack and defence to be equally warm and bloody: in the end, the order lost a great part of its knights, and the assault had lasted above an hour and a half, before a capitulation could be formed of its success; but the governor having been killed upon the breach by a musket-ball, that blow, as if it had knocked all the soldiers of the garrison, quite damped their courage, and they offered to capitulate. The knights, to save their lives, consented to lose their liberty; and the inhabitants, who, out of their religion, had taken arms in their favour, did not meet with better treatment.

The emperor taking this first advantage as a good omen, ordered Doria to dispose of every thing for the siege of Africa, and signified to him that the viceroys of Naples and Sicily had orders to send him all the succours of troops and ammunition he might have occasion for. Upon this, the admiral wrote immediately to Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, and to Don Juan de Vega, who was commanded in Sicily, to send him, with all imaginable expedition, what galleys and ships they had, with a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, and a great number of land forces on board. During his waiting for their coming up, to prevent any troops from entering into Africa, he posted himself at the islands of Cumilieres or Coniglieries, which lie nearer to the place than Monester, though the latter was but three miles distance. The viceroy of Naples sent him word that he was getting ready a strong

forcement, which should be commanded by Don Garcia his son; the viceroy of Sicily gave him the like assurances; and added, that as the people of his government, by their situation nearer Africa, were more strongly bound in point of interest to drive the corsairs out of that place, he therefore designed to head his troops in person; but as the succours he was preparing were not yet ready, and that Dragut was scouring the seas with several squadrons, in order to surprise the Christian vessels, and ruin the enterprise, the viceroy, for his security, insisted that the admiral should fix the general rendezvous of all the Christian fleet at Trepano in Sicily: to which he added, that he was resolved to go thither himself, with all his ships and galleys, and, when their squadrons should be joined, and all the emperor's sea forces united in one body, they then might proceed in concert, without the least interruption, to form the siege of Africa.

The admiral, who, from the Cumilieres islands, kept the port of that place in a manner blocked up, foresaw very well, that if he should quit his post, Dragut would not fail to make use of the opportunity, and throw in succours; but as he had received private orders, to do nothing in the carrying on the siege without the advice of Don Juan de Vega, who was an old officer, and an excellent general, Doria was forced to go to him to Palermo, from whence they went together to Trepano, at which place the galleys and troops of Naples and Malta were already arrived.

The Neapolitan succours consisted of twenty-four galleys and several vessels with land forces on board. Don Garcia de Toledo, as has been already observed, commanded this strong squadron; and as

Doria seldom quitted the sea, that young lord flattered himself with the hopes of carrying on the siege himself, and of having all the honour that would accrue from thence; but hearing that the viceroy of Sicily had declared his resolution of going thither in person, he was so vexed to see himself balked of the glory he had hoped to gain by that means, that he reembarked, as if he intended to depart and separate from the rest of the army; but, to cover his discontent with some specious pretence, he told Doria, that as the viceroy his father had received orders from the emperor to put all his galleys to sea, in order to go in search of Dragut, and fight him, he could not dispense with his instructions.

Doria saw with grief, that this division between the chiefs, arising from a jealousy for the command, would make the enterprise miscarry, and that Don Garcia, though a young officer, yet being independent on the viceroy of Sicily, was for making his advantage of the great occasion they had for the body under his command. He did all that lay in his power to retain him, and prevent his going off; and they made a kind of negotiation of that affair; the bailiff de la Sangle, commander of the galleys of Malta, had the management of it by Doria's order: that judicious knight carried messages between both parties; but Don Garcia, what proposals soever they might make him, would not abate a tittle of his pretensions; he maintained, that as he commanded a fleet and body of troops in chief, nothing could oblige him to serve as a subaltern without express orders from the emperor to that purpose; that indeed he was sensible of the respect that would be due to the emperor's flag, and to his great admiral, so long as he should be out at sea, but that

when they should be ashore, and especially in a foreign country, he would never submit to receive orders from a general, who had no right to claim any authority over the Neapolitan troops. This dispute was very warm, and lasted several days, when at last the bailiff de la Sangle, who was of a reconciling temper, brought them to agree to the following resolutions, viz. That they should both have an equal authority ashore; that each should command the troops which he had brought with him to the siege; that the council of war should regulate and determine the attacks by the plurality of voices; and that orders should be given in the emperor's name, in the same manner as if he commanded in person at the siege. These disputes being happily over, the whole fleet set sail, stood away for Africa, when they landed the troops on the east side of the place, on the 26th of June, 1550.

Dragut, during Doria's voyage into Sicily and Trepano, had not failed, as that experienced admiral had foreseen, to throw a strong reinforcement into the place; he had put some of his best officers into it, with supplies of provisions and ammunition; and at the same time put out to sea, in order to intercept the convoys that should be sent to the Christian army. The governor of Goletta, who was an officer of great-reputation and distinguished valour, came, by the emperor's express orders, to the siege; and the grand master of Malta, knowing the loss which the order had sustained at the assault of the castle of Monaster, sent a new recruit of knights to supply the place of such as had been killed.

The generals having landed their troops, their ammunition and artillery, they opened the trenches, raised the batteries, and the artillery began to fire



a formidable army before their walls, they detested the piracies of Dragut, which had drawn that yoke upon them, and they began to talk openly of treating with the Christians: but Rais Esse, who was Dragut's nephew, and governor of the place, being a resolute soldier, threatened, that if they mentioned so much as a single word about capitulating, would stab them all one after another, and afterwards set fire to the city: and, upbraiding them with their cowardice, he asked them in a softer tone whether, in case of their surrendering themselves to the Christians, they could be so silly as to believe that their mortal enemies, when once become their masters, would leave them in the exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their estates: adding, that they ought to consider, that in this war every thing that was dear to man lay at stake: they having their lives, their liberties, their religion, their wives, and their children to defend. At the same time, in order to encourage them, he represented to them the strength of the place, the numerous artillery, the arms and ammunition that were in it; telling them further, that he had about thousand seven hundred foot and six hundred horse under his command, all which his uncle had chosen from amongst his best troops, who, like himself, had taken a resolution to bury themselves in the ruins of the place, rather than surrender it to the Christians. The magistrates, intimidated rather by his menace than encouraged by his promises, prepared, though against their wills, to sustain a siege, which it was not in their power to prevent: but the populace who were furious with zeal, and so much the more

jealous of their religion, as they knew but very little of it, made no other answer to the governor's discourse, than by venting imprecations against the Christians. They all strove to outvie each other in their exhortations to die for the sake of their religion; and prejudice and obstinacy supplied the place of resolution and courage.

The governor, in order to confirm them in these sentiments, and to give them a proof that he was not afraid of the Christians, ordered his cavalry to rally out with three hundred arquebusiers, who advanced to a rising ground near adjoining, whence they fired upon the emperor's camp, with their muskets and some field pieces. Don Garcia, whose quarter lay near to it, marched immediately with part of his troops, in order to dislodge them from that post: the skirmish was warm and obstinate, as indeed generally happens in the first combats, by the success of which men often judge before-hand of the fate of the whole enterprise. The governor, in order to sustain his men, sent out six hundred Moors, armed with muskets, to their succour, who gave a furious discharge, which made a terrible havock among the Neapolitans. Although the viceroy of Sicily might not perhaps be sorry to see Don Garcia beaten and repulsed, yet the emperor's service, and the interest of the common cause, made him urge the knights to advance to the succour of the Neapolitans; upon which the bailiff de la Sangle, who commanded the battalion of Malta, marched out immediately, came up with the Moors, charged them sword in hand; when those infidels, who were very unfit to stand their ground in battle, broke in a moment. The infantry got back to the gates of the town, which were shut after them; and the

cavalry, dispersing themselves in the plain, as fast as their horses could gallop, threw themselves into a forest of olives, where they immediately disappeared.

The cannon had begun with battering the *faussebraye*, and the pannel of the wall which ran across the slip of land before-mentioned; when the breach appearing to be practicable, they sent officers to reconnoitre it. These, at their return, declared that behind the breach they had discovered deep intrenchments, which were well flanked, the bottom of which was stuck full of iron spikes; by which means they would infallibly lose all the troops they should send upon the attack: but the viceroy of Sicily, suspecting that fear might have a considerable share in this report, or at least that it was greatly exaggerated, prevailed upon them to come to a resolution of making an assault on the Friday following; during which interval they redoubled the battery, in order to widen the breach. On Friday, two hours before day-break, the viceroy, who was ambitious of the whole honour of the enterprise, notwithstanding the undisputed right which the knights had of being at the head of all attacks, advanced with his own troops to the foot of the wall.

The Sicilians found the breach of the *faussebraye* lined with enemies, who made a terrible fire, and killed a great number of the Christians. But the assailants, without the least fear, and perhaps without knowing all the danger, got to the top of the breach, when the bravest of them threw themselves desperately into the ditch, which was between the *faussebraye* and the fort: but they were all killed upon the spot, except one man only, whom the infidels spared, and took prisoner, purposely to get some light into the designs of the Christians. Other troops

advanced to sustain this first body, but without any better success: for they met every where with deep cuts and intrenchments lying one above another, from whence they were galled continually with cannon and musket-ball, that flew as thick as hail. The fire of the besieged demolished every thing that dared so much as to appear. This assault cost the generals the bravest of their soldiers, and, in order to save the remainder, they ordered a retreat to be sounded. The officers, as well as soldiers, disheartened at so dangerous an attack, threw themselves with precipitation into their trenches. This ill success struck a great damp on the ardor of the besiegers. If the discontented and dejected soldiery did not dare to speak of raising the siege, they nevertheless saw plain enough, that it would be protracted to a great length. What made the calamity still greater was, their provisions began to fail; and contagious distempers, contracted from fatigue and unwholesome food, attacked both officers and common soldiers.

The bailiff de la Sangle, who accounted humanity his chief duty, erected a kind of hospital and infirmary in his tents, where he took great care to have the sick soldiers carefully attended. The knights, in obedience to his orders, and in imitation of this example, attended on them in their turns; so that now all the army admired their charity as much as they had done their courage. Dragut, who was ever attentive to the defence of a place that was of such importance to him, endeavoured to throw succours into it; for which purpose he landed eight hundred of his men; and getting together three thousand Moors, all of them good arquebussiers, whom he had levied with his money, he lay in

ambush with them in the forest of Olives near Afric to which place the Christians used to come for the fascines. His design was to have attacked the lion on St. James's day, who being the patron of Spain, he, for that reason, hoped to find the soldiers either drunk or in disorder, and absent from their colour, and, in order to facilitate the throwing in of the succours, he had given the governor notice to make a sally at the same time with all his garrison: but chance was the occasion of his ambuscade's being discovered, and brought on an engagement sooner than he intended; for the viceroy of Sicily, going into the forest with the bailiff de la Sangle, the governor of Goletta, and a great escort of knights, in order the cutting of fascines, Dragut, who lay concealed there, suffering them to come near him, rose up suddenly with his men, gave them a terrible fire, and fell in immediately upon the knights with drawn sabres. The bailiff, notwithstanding his being surprised by the enemy, soon put his men in order, they being all old warriors, who knew very well how to fall into it of themselves, so that the battalion formed itself without any manner of difficulty; after which, there followed no small skirmish, but rather an obstinate engagement; and they fought together for a long time with various success. The Turks and Moors, by their frequent firing killed a great number of Christians, among which the loss of Lewis Peres de Vargas, governor of Goletta, and several of the bravest knights, were particularly regretted. The viceroy met with some difficulty in drawing his troops out of the forest, and recovering the plain: Dragut pursued him for some time, and made several charges; but finding still the same men, and a body of warriors, which, though

air, making head against him, he drew off his troops; and the Moors knowing the country, threw themselves into the forest again, dispersed as usual, and did not rally, till such time as they came near Faguet, which was their rendezvous.

At the viceroy's return, the generals held a council of war, when by their orders and directions all the batteries continued firing with the same fury; besides which, they also raised some new ones: but the walls were so thick, and so well strengthened with ramparts, that the cannon did no more than graze upon them as it were; and the breaches seemed so small, and were covered with intrenchments that were so well fortified, that they durst not hazard a second assault. They even began to fear that they should be obliged to raise the siege; but Don Garcia, who was full of fire, always in action, whose thoughts were entirely bent on the success of the enterprise, formed a design which gained him the principal honour of it. He had learned from some deserters, that a part of the wall, which the sea washed, was weaker than the rest, and even neglected by the besieged, who did not think that great vessels could come near it, by reason of the banks of sand which the waves had drove on that side. Don Garcia, after having communicated his project to the admiral, and to the council, took the hulks of two old galleys that drew but little water, bound them fast one to another, and raised a battery on them with parapets and port-holes. This machine was in a dark night towed by some skiffs and great boats, and brought over against the place where he intended to make a breach; and he made the two galleys fast with four anchors, two of which

were towards the land and the wall, and the other two towards the main sea.

They began at day-break to batter the pannel of the wall, that lay opposite to this platform; and the cannon fired with so much fury, that a great part of the wall was beat down in a little time: a reasonable breach, in the opinion of the engineers, was soon made; so that the generals resolved to try an assault. The knights of Malta, who, pursuant to custom, and the privilege of that illustrious body, had the post of honour assigned them, advanced first to the storm. The bailiff de la Sangle regulated their march, and the order of the attack: he ordered that the commander de Gion, supported by two files of the oldest knights, should carry the standard of the order at their head. The chevalier de Guimeran, and, in case he should be killed, the chevalier Copier was to sustain this first body with all the young knights, and several volunteers of different nations, who had desired to fight under the banner of St. John. They put in their rear four companies of the Maltese soldiers, each of them commanded by officers of the order; and the bailiff, with some old knights which he kept about him, was to close the march, in order to go afterwards to such places as should have the most need of his presence and assistance.

The viceroy of Sicily with his own troops, and Don Gareja with those of Naples, in order to make a diversion, undertook respectively to make other attacks; and these two generals, from an emulation of glory, and to have each of them the honour of first planting his standard on the top of the breach, promised their soldiers extraordinary rewards. The knights, who had no need of such self-interested

motives, the moment a cannon-shot had given the signal for an attack, got into skiffs, and light shallops, which drew but little water ; notwithstanding which, most of these brave knights, seeing themselves stopped every moment by banks of sand, leaped into the sea with their swords drawn, and marched up to the middle, and often up to the shoulders, in water, they at last got to the foot of the wall. The infidels appeared upon the highest part of the breach, and in order to keep the Christians from approaching it, plied them at the same time with their great and small shot, with arrows, stones, firepots, and boiling oil, making a weapon of every thing that lay next to their hands. However, the knights, not daunted at the number of their slain, surmounted all these obstacles, and forced their way to the top of the breach, by the side of a tower that joined to the corner of the wall. The commander de Giou immediately set up the standard of the order; but he was the same moment struck backwards by a musket-ball; the standard was taken up by the commander Copier, who held it aloft during the whole battle, in the midst of all the fire, and the showers of cross-bow shot. In the mean time the cannon which played upon them from the adjoining tower, and the fire of the musketeers from the intrenchments, made dreadful havoc among the knights, who were unable either to advance forward themselves, or force the infidels to retire back. A great number of knights, and noble volunteers, who fought under their banner, and most of the Maltese soldiers, lost their lives on this occasion. The commander de Guimeran, who was at the head of the attack, was infinitely concerned to see his brother knights killed by his side, yet could



not resolve with himself to abandon his post; who happily for him, as he was turning his eyes on his sides, he discovered on the left hand through the ruins, a little path that led to the body of the place. Others pretend that it was the ruins of a gallery of communication: be that as it will, the command at the head of his companions, made an effort, and impulsed every thing that he met with in his way. He opened himself a passage, rushed into the gallery which was all gone to ruin, except the beams and some joists, and marching over them with as much resolution as he would have done over a stone bridge he made his way into the city.

At this noise the inhabitants, alarmed by the cries of their wives and children, barricaded themselves in the streets, and got into the houses, from whence they made a terrible fire. Here the knights found themselves stopped again, and obliged in a manner to make as many sieges as there were intrenchments in every quarter; but, while they were thus fighting, the Turks and Moors, who were opposing the Neapolitans and Sicilians, hearing that the Maltese were got within the place, abandoned the defence of it, to run to the succour of their houses and families. On which the Christians immediately spread themselves over the city, and made them sensible that every man's maintaining himself in his respective post would have been the only way for them to have preserved their particular fortunes. The poor inhabitants, after a weak resistance in some quarters, seeing the enemy masters of the place fled for their lives. Some made the best of their way to the plain and the forest, others got into boats: some, out of despair, threw themselves into the sea; and Dragut's soldiers, who were more afraid

of his reproaches than of death itself, went to seek it on the point of the swords of the Christians. Not one of them would call for quarter, so that they all made themselves be killed to a man. They met with a considerable booty in this place: for, besides seven thousand slaves of every age and sex, the soldiers found the city filled with magazines of very rich merchandize, and plenty of gold, silver, and precious stones in the houses of the principal inhabitants.

But the richest booty was the place itself, which, at that time, was the strongest on the coast of Africa. The viceroy of Sicily, who had no longer occasion for the succours of the Neapolitans, openly claimed all the honour of taking it, put his son in it as governor, leaving, at the same time, a garrison consisting of six companies of foot; after which the breaches were carefully repaired, the ditches cleaned, and having purified and consecrated the principal mosque, they interred in it all the knights and principal officers who had been killed in the siege. The emperor having been afterwards obliged to abandon this place, their ashes were transported to Sicily in two distinct chests, which were deposited in the cathedral church of Montreal; and, by the viceroy's order, they erected a stately monument to their memory, on which the following epitaph was engraved:

"Death has put an end to the lives of those whose ashes rest under this marble; but the remembrance of their great valour shall never die. The faith of these heroes has given them a place in heaven, and their courage has filled the earth with their glory: so that the blood which flowed from their wounds

has, instead of one transitory life, procured them two that are immortal."

Dragut, enraged at the loss of the town of Africa, of his treasures, and his slaves, which were lodged there, ascribed it chiefly to the knights of Malta; he accordingly made complaints of it to the grand seignior. His agent at the Porte represented both to that prince and to the divan, that the emperor, by this conquest, had one of the principal keys of Africa in his power; that he was master of the fortress of Goletta, and of most of the places that depended on the kingdom of Tunis; that the knights of Malta, who were devoted to that prince, had fortified themselves in Tripoli; that there was reason to apprehend lest the Arabs, being great enemies to the Turks, should facilitate their passage over the deserts into Egypt; and that the knights, under pretence of delivering Jerusalem and Palestine from the dominion of the Ottomans, might penetrate into those countries, revive the ancient spirit of the crusades, and bring into their party the forces of the Christian princes, who were formidable when united together.

Some noble presents, the surest interpreter to obtain a hearing at the Porte, which Dragut distributed among the principal bashas, engaged them to represent to the grand seignior, that his highness was more concerned in the loss of Africa than Dragut; that the enterprise was a breach of the treaty made with the Christians, which continued still in force; that he could not avoid discovering his resentment upon that account; and that it was particularly necessary he should drive the knights, those declared and eternal enemies of the Alcoran, out

of all Africa, as he had done already out of Asia.

Solyman, in that height of power to which his birth and conquests had raised him, was capable, with no great difficulty, of being blown up to indignation and resentment; nevertheless, as this monarch, contrary to the custom of most of his predecessors, valued himself upon his religious observance of his treaties, before he began the war, he sent, out of a sort of formality, a chaoux to the emperor, to demand, in his name, the restitution of Susa, Monester and Africa. Charles answered the envoy, that those places were dependencies of the kingdom of Tunis, which held of the crown of Castile; and that, independent of his rights of high sovereignty, his generals had done only in that point, what all sovereigns of all religions ought to do with regard to a corsair, who was odious both to God and man; and that, as for himself, he was resolved, without thinking it any breach of the truce which he had made with his highness, to pursue that pirate into all places which he should retire.

Solyman, who was too powerful to be equitable, and who weighed his reasons only by the strength of his forces, was provoked at so resolute an answer; and therefore resolved to have satisfaction for it by some illustrious enterprise. Dragut had orders sent him to get together, in a body, all such corsairs as carried the Turkish flag, and to keep them in readiness to join the Ottoman fleet, which the sultan was for employing in this war; and, in order to take away from Charles all pretence of treating Dragut as a corsair, he sent to him, as to one of his officers, a commission, constituting him sangiac of the isle of Santa Maura. The grand seignior's design was,

which Dona and the emperor's other generals had lately taken; but Dragut took care to have represented to him, that the knights of Malta would infallibly traverse him in all those enterprises, and that their vessels would frequently intercept such convoys as should pass along the coast of Tripoli or in the neighbourhood of Malta; that, therefore, it would be absolutely necessary for him to fall with fire and sword on that island and on Tripoli, and to employ all his forces for the extirpating of those knights, who, notwithstanding their being few in number, had never yet failed to multiply as it were, whenever a war was carrying on against the Mussulmen.

The grand seignior, who had never heard the knights mentioned at his court but as so many corsairs, who ruined the commerce of his dominions, entered into Dragut's measures: and, as a powerful fleet was necessary for the execution of it, orders were issued accordingly, and they began to work without intermission in all the ports of his empire, in order to build and fit out galleys and vessels of all sizes. The noise of so great an armament soon came to the ears of Charles V. He made no question but that Dragut was the cause of the war; and that he, for his own private interest, would be glad to draw down his master's arms, and extend his power in Africa: in order, therefore, to lay the storm, it was necessary that Dragut should be destroyed, or that they should get his person once more into their hands. Charles V., from an opinion, that if the sultan should find himself deprived of so experienced a general, who had been used to those seas for so many years, he would then

turn the power of his arms to some other quarter, commanded Doria to go in search of him, to fight him at any rate, and omit nothing in order to free him from so dangerous an enemy.

Doria, pursuant to the emperor's orders, put to sea in the spring with two-and-twenty galleys, besides galliots and brigantines, and in the month of March arrived upon the coast of Africa. The Christian admiral, hearing that Dragut had put into the haven or channel of the isle of Gelves or Gerba, made for that place; and, in order to prevent his getting out, anchored at the mouth of the channel, in a place called Bocca de Contara. The corsair, surprised by the arrival of the Christian fleet, worked all night in raising a rampart of earth at the mouth of the channel, from whence he played with his artillery upon Doria's galleys, and obliged them to withdraw out of the reach of his cannon. But the Christian admiral, fully persuaded that his prey could not escape him, immediately dispatched some brigantines to Sicily, Naples and Genoa, in order to have a reinforcement of troops sent him from those places.

His design in sending for these troops was, that whilst he, with his fleet, should keep the corsair in sight, and also block up the mouth of the channel, they might by that means have an opportunity of landing in the island, of burning Dragut's galleys, and of taking him prisoner. Dragut, who foresaw his design, and that he was going to be invested by sea and land, in order to extricate himself out of so great a danger, formed a project as bold as it was extraordinary, and which is scarce to be paralleled in history.

In order to keep up the confidence of the Chris-

tian admiral, and make him believe, that he was resolved to defend the entrance of the channel to the last extremity, Dragut caused several intrenchments to be made along the shore, on both sides of it, well provided with artillery and musketeers, which made a continual fire when any Christian vessel dared to come near them; but at the same time the crafty corsair, by the help of his soldiers and galley-slaves, and the assistance of the Moors who inhabited the island, with great secrecy levelled a road, which began at the place where his galleys lay at anchor, on which he raised a frame, composed of several pieces of timber, covering it over with planks that had been rubbed with grease, in order for the better sliding of any thing upon it. After which they hoisted the galleys, by the strength of capstanes, upon this frame or floor of timber, and, with great wooden rollers, forced them forward to a part of the island where the ground lay much lower, and where he had caused a new canal to be dug, on that side of the isle which lay opposite to the channel of Cantara, and by which he transported his galleys from one sea to the other. Doria knew nothing of all this, until he was made sensible of it by the loss of the admiral galley of Sicily, which Dragut, in a kind of bravado, took almost in his sight. The corsair, after this action, sailed for Constantinople, in order to hasten by his presence the departure of the fleet which was designed against Tripoli, and the other places belonging to the order of St. John. The Christian admiral, amazed, and in greater confusion than if he had lost a considerable battle, came back into the harbour of Genoa; and, in order to evade pursuing the corsair, made use of the honorable pretence of his being

obliged to command in person those galleys that were to carry don Philip of Austria, the emperor's only son, from Italy into Spain: so that he conducted the young prince to Barcelona, from whence he afterwards brought back Maximilian, king of Bohemia, cousin-german to Philip, and son to Ferdinand, king of the Romans, whom his father had ordered to return home into Germany.

Doria spent all the summer in making these voyages, whilst the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, being deprived of his succours, had joined their maritime forces; notwithstanding which, they yet did not find themselves strong enough to keep the sea, and therefore had sent to Malta, to desire the assistance of the galleys of the order. The grand master, for the same reason, and from the apprehensions they were under of being besieged, ought not to have suffered his galleys to stir out of his ports; but the order being under the government of a Spanish grand master, was entirely devoted to the Austrian interest; and a request, or even a hint, from the emperor or his generals, was considered by the grand master as an absolute command. However, there were some commanders in the council, who openly complained of the sending away the forces of the order, and depriving them by that means of so necessary a succour, at the very moment they were going to be attacked by the infidels. But d'Omedes, in order to keep the rest of the council from giving ear to such just reasons, declared he had received certain intelligence, that the fleet of the infidels was to be put to no other use that year than to assist the king of France against the emperor; upon which, on his bare word, and still more by his interest and authority, the gal-



leys were ordered immediately to join those of the emperor; and the grand master, to pacify the murmurs of those who complained of their being employed in this manner, gave orders to the chevalier Pied-de-fer, general of the galleys, at his departure, that in case he should find the fleet of the infidels were steering their course for Malta or Tripoli, he then should return with all possible diligence into the ports of the order. But for the executing of such orders it would have been necessary for him to have had a safe-conduct from the sea, the winds, and the enemy's fleet.

The port of Messina was fixed upon as the general rendezvous. Scarce had the several squadrons, which composed the Christian fleet, put in there, when they received repeated advices from the Levant, that the grand seignior was at sea, and that that formidable armado steered towards the coasts of Naples and Sicily, but that there was no judging where the storm would fall. This fleet consisted of a hundred and twelve royal galleys, two great galleasses, thirty flutes, and several brigantines and transport vessels, all under the command of Sinan Basha, with Dragut, and another famous corsair, called Sala Rais, for his lieutenants, together with twelve thousand men, most of them janizaries, on board, and a great number of pioneers, working tools, and machines proper for a siege. At the same time the chevalier George de St. Jean, who had returned to Malta, after scouring all the coast of the Morea, reported, that the conversation all over the Levant was about the siege of Tripoli, or that of Malta itself; and that which made the council still more uneasy was, that the commander de Ville-gagnon, who arrived about that time from France

into Sicily, wrote from Messina to the grand master and his particular friends, informing them, that the grand seignior's armament was designed solely against the dominions of the order; and that he had set out from his own country purposely to bring them certain advice of it, and to discharge that duty which by his profession he owed to the order. As this knight, at that time, made a very considerable figure in France, as well as in his order, it may not, perhaps, be improper to give a more particular account of him.

Brother Nicholas Durante de Villegagnon was a Frenchman, born of an ancient family in the province of Bré. He was one of the handsomest men of his age; had a mind adorned with every kind of curious and useful knowledge; nor was he less distinguished by his valour, which commanded respect from the bravest captains his contemporaries. We have already taken notice of the advantageous manner in which he signalized himself at the siege of Algiers, and of the glory he there acquired in the sight of so many different nations as composed the army of Charles V. Nor had he less distinguished himself at sea; in the service of his Prince, and in the post of vice-admiral of the coast of Bretagne. This gallant knight, at the first report of the grand Seignior's preparations, and of Malta's being threatened with a siege, did not wait for a general citation; but with king Henry II.'s leave, leaving the court, and by that means all his hopes, arrived in Sicily, and acquainted the viceroy with the news he was carrying to the grand master. Nor did he fail to represent to him, in very zealous terms, the few troops, and the small stock of ammunition there was at that time at Malta, Goza, and Tripoli; pressing

him moreover to send succours to those islands, as being feudatories of the crown of Sicily, and serving as a bulwark to that kingdom.

The viceroy, imagining that the coasts of Naples and Sicily were more in danger of being attacked by the infidels than the places of the order, satisfied himself with saying, that he would omit nothing that might contribute to the defence of Malta, so far as was consistent with the interest of the island, of which he was governor. An answer given in such random and general terms, giving no satisfaction to Villegagnon, he went on board a brigantine, and arrived a few days after at Malta. At his landing, a crowd of knights came about him, and conducted him to the grand master; when, after having paid his first compliments to him, that prince assembled the council, had him called in, and asked him what they thought in France of the grand seignior's armament? The French commander replied, that it was the common opinion, that all the forces of the Ottoman Empire were going to fall upon the territories of the order; that when he, at his coming away, was taking leave of the constable de Montmorency, first minister of the kingdom, that lord had commissioned him to acquaint them, in his name, that they would be immediately attacked; that the grand seignior, vexed to find a great number of knights in all the armies, both of the emperor and the Venetians; and incensed particularly at the share they had had in the taking of Africa, intended to drive them out of Tripoli, and the isles which they possessed; that he exhorted them not to suffer themselves to be surprised; that this advice was the result of the sentiments of that esteem and affection which he bore to an illustrious order, and

which the grand master de l'Isle Adam, his uncle, had governed in the most perilous times, with the universal approbation, of all the sovereigns of Christendom.

This news alarmed the council; so that they used the most pressing instances, in order to oblige the grand master to put the places belonging to the order in a state of defence; and all of them were unanimously of opinion that he should immediately send succours to Tripoli, which was but poorly fortified, and whose garrison was composed of none but old and infirm knights, who had retired thither for the benefit of the air; that the little isle of Goza was not tenable, and that it was necessary to demolish the castle, lest the Turks should establish themselves in a place that lay so near Malta; that they should transport the inhabitants of that island to Sicily, desire the viceroy to give them a retreat there, and to ask, by way of exchange, for some companies of foot to be sent to Tripoli.

The grand master heard these different advices with a coldness next to insensibility; and, after having expressed to Villegagnon how much he was obliged to the constable for the great concern he discovered for the order, he dismissed him; and making the great crosses and pilliers of the convent stay behind him, he said to them with a sneer, "Either this Frenchman is the constable's bubble, or he has a mind to make us his." But afterwards, affecting a more serious air, which was more suitable to an affair of such importance, he told them, that they should never persuade him to believe, that Solyman had been at the expence of such an armament, with a view only of seizing upon Malta; that so inconsiderable an object, and the conquest of a

barren rock, would never compensate for the prodigious expence he had been at in fitting out mighty a fleet; but that in reality the grand senior, who was one of the greatest politicians of age, aimed at much higher designs; that he was going, in concert with the king of France, to attack the kingdom of Naples; that his fleet, which alarmed them so much, was expected in the port of Toulon; that it was immediately to join that of France; and that he likewise had certain advice of the king sending thither five mules loaded with money, for the pay of the infidels. That, after all, it would be proper, before they should put themselves to expences, which would perhaps be thrown away, to wait for more certain accounts.

An answer, in terms so full of coldness and indifference, raised the indignation of several members of the council: what Villegagnon had advanced with relation to the necessity they were under of fortifying Tripoli, could never be thought an useless expence: but it was but too flagrantly known at Malta, that the grand master, whose thoughts were entirely bent on aggrandizing his family, reckoned all money as lost, that did not turn to the profits of his nephews; and that the weakest pretence provided it served for the putting off any expence how necessary soever it might be, appeared even in his eyes as a solid reason, and a certain advantage. Insomuch that some commanders answered him in pretty warm terms, that it would not be prudent in the council, upon the doubtful testimony of some spies only, to continue in a state of indolence, at a time when the Ottoman fleet was drawing near and in the view of so great a danger; that it was necessary to issue a general citation forthwith,

summon together all the knights, who were dispersed in different parts of Christendom, to fortify all those weak places in the isle of Malta, which might any way facilitate the descent of the infidels; to demolish the castle of Goza, transport the inhabitants of that island into Sicily, endeavour to get succours from the viceroy; and, above all things, recal the old knights from Tripoli, and fill up their places with a body of such as were younger, and more able to undergo the fatigues of a siege.

The grand master, who was ever fond of money, told them, that he was not averse to the issuing a citation, provided that, till such time as a general chapter could meet, in order to provide for the expence that the arrival of such a great number of knights would occasion, they would, in a full council, augment the responsions and taxes, which every commandery was obliged to pay. He added, that he could not give his consent to the abandoning the castle of Goza, which was seated on the point of a rock, and which might serve for a retreat to the wives and children of the inhabitants of the island; and that the people would fight with greater courage and bravery, whilst they had those dear pledges before their eyes; and moreover, that he reposed the utmost confidence in the valour and experience of the chevalier d'Essé, who commanded there in quality of governor. As to the exchange which they proposed to make of the garrison of Tripoli, he opposed it, under pretence that it was not prudent to weaken Malta, in order to fortify a place that lay so remote, and that the drawing some companies of foot thither from Sicily would be succours sufficient; and lastly, that he would write immediately to the viceroy to that effect.

However weak his reasons might be, yet all that could suggest was not sufficient to overcome obstinacy, or remove his prepossessions; and what was worse, his opinion, through the complaisance of the Spanish and Italian commanders, prevailed in council. They likewise laid aside the design of a general citation, from a notion they entertained, that in case the Turks should have orders to attack the territories of the order, they would arrive before there the citation could have passed the sea; and after making a few slight fortifications in all places where it was supposed they might make descents, the grand master continued in as strange and surprising an inactivity, as if he had taken orders from the Turkish general, or had been in concert with him. However, the viceroy of Sicily, who knew of what consequence the preservation of Malta was to that kingdom, at his request, sent a recruit of two hundred Calabrians, which he had received from the kingdom of Naples, all of them either shepherds or mechanics, who had never borne arms; but they flattered themselves, that upon their arrival at Tripoli, by being under the orders and imitation of the knights, they would insensibly be formed to military discipline.

Accordingly they began to make preparations for shipping them off; but when they were upon the point of embarking, the fear of being pent up in a remote place, that was threatened with a siege, made their hearts sink; so that the greatest part of them absconded: they complained, that the grand master was sending them to be knocked on the head with no other view, than to spare the knights and his own soldiers; so that they could not prevail upon them to sail for Africa, till they had put twenty

five knights at their head, who were all young men, that had been under arrest for an insurrection, and whom the grand master was not much concerned to part with.

This was all the succour they could obtain from the grand master for the city of Tripoli. The people of Goza were still more neglected; and, as if he had thought that battalions of armed men would spring out of the earth in their defence, they could not prevail upon him to send them either troops or gunners; and when the poor inhabitants of that little island sent their wives and children to Malta, in two barks, for their greater security, the grand master, in order to excuse himself from providing for their subsistence, would not suffer them to land; nay, he went so far as to threaten to sink them, if they offered to come near the port. In short, all these women, with their little children, were forced to return to Goza, and d'Omedes apologized for so hard-hearted a procedure, by a refinement of policy, and the pretence above mentioned, viz. that the inhabitants, by having those dear pledges before their eyes, would fight with greater courage and resolution. A few days after, intelligence came that the grand seignior's fleet had appeared off the coast of Sicily; that the Turks had made descents and great ravages in several places; that, after attempting the siege of Catana in vain, they had sat down before Augusta, July 13, 1551; that the town and castle had held out but a few days; that the infidels had committed all manner of violence there; and that it was commonly reported, that they were preparing to sail directly for Malta.

These disagreeable tidings made the council very uneasy, and alarmed all the inhabitants: but the



grand master, in order to encourage them, cried out, " We are not the persons whom the Turks design to fall upon ; and the reason of their taking the southern passage, which seems to have brought them near Malta, is only because it is the shortest way to go to Provence." And, in order to support his notion by the opinion of the most skilful pilots, he sent for some of the oldest before the council ; and they, either out of complaisance, or because it was really so in fact, agreed, that if the Turks had really orders to sail to the coast of Provence, the southern passage was a shorter cut by two hundred miles.

But at last this fatal blindness was removed ; for the grand master, three days after, July 16, saw, from the windows of his palace, the Ottoman fleet arrive, which, sailing with a favourable wind, appeared in good order before the isle of Malta. Solymán's orders to his general were, that he should, as he passed, and according to the disposition in which he found Malta and Goza, endeavour to make himself master of those islands ; but that if he found too much difficulty in the execution of that enterprise, he should keep only to that of Tripoli, the reducing of which, in the design he had of recovering Africa, seemed to him of the greatest importance. The grand seignior added, the knowledge he had of Dragut's experience made him wish, that Sinan would undertake nothing of importance without first consulting him. The Turkish general, in obedience to his orders, presented himself at first before one of the ports of the island, called Marsa Muscet, which is divided from the great port only by a slip of land, or, properly speaking, a very high rock.

At the approach of this formidable army, a general terror seized the inhabitants of the island; every one strove to get out of the way, in order to avoid the fury of the Turks, and ran up and down in search of a place of refuge, either in the holes of the rocks, or in the fortified places. Of these there were only two in all the island; one of which was situated below the castle of St. Angelo, commonly called The Bourg, or Town, and the ordinary residence of the convent at that time; and the other a good way up the country, in the middle of the island, about six miles from the town, and the great port, and was called The Notable City, or The City of Malta, after the name of the island, it being the capital, and, properly speaking, the only city in it at that time.

Most of the inhabitants of the country, both men, women and children, carried off the most portable part of their household furniture, and leading some cows and goats for the subsistence of their children, took refuge in these two places. But as there were not houses enough to lodge all this multitude, they were most of them obliged to remain in the market places and the streets; and, what added to their misfortune, was, their being exposed all the dog-days to the heat of the sun, which rages with intolerable violence in that burning climate. The infection and stench that exhaled from the excrements of these poor creatures, thus crowded together, would soon have produced contagious distempers; and that which still added to their affliction and despair was, the want of a well or fountain in either of those places, and there was but little water in the cisterns; so that if the Turks should unhappily resolve to lay close siege to these two places, they

would be soon forced either to turn out all use persons, and deliver them up to the cruelty of Barbarians, or else to capitulate; two extremes which the order, from its charity and valour, was equally incapable of submitting to.

The knights, through the grand master's obstinacy, were destitute of every thing but courage notwithstanding which, they were not wanting the duty they owed to themselves, and to the order never had they on any former occasion discovered greater resolution than they did at this time. The same valour, which had shone with such distinguished lustre in those ancient knights, to whom the order owed its military institution and first conquests, appeared in them; so that one would have thought that they were still the same men under other names. The chevalier Upton, an English commander, and one of the bravest knights of the order, put himself at the head of thirty others, and four hundred inhabitants of the island, who were all on horseback. They marched down boldly to the shore, on the side of the town, in order to oppose the Turks in their landing. The commander Guimeran, a Spaniard, sallied out at the same time on another side, with a hundred knights on foot, and three hundred arquebusiers, and passed over the skiffs from the town to mount Sceberras, the rock which parted the two great ports; he there lay concealed, extended on the ground, in order to observe the designs and countenance of the infidels: he had not been long here, when he saw the Turkish general appear in his admiral galley, with some other after him, standing in to the great port, in order to reconnoitre the most proper place for his landing; and as the side of the town was the most exposed to

the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, in order to avoid that, he drew up on the side of mount Sceberras; but as he approached that rock, the commander de Guimeran, seeing him within arquebuss shot, made such a furious discharge, which was levelled particularly at his own galley, that all the crew was put into disorder, and let their oars drop. The surprise which had seized the Turkish general soon gave way to resentment; and his pride being wounded in its most tender part, to see himself attacked first by men whom he thought to surprise, and who were so inferior to him in strength, he, in revenge, vowed their destruction; upon which he made immediately to the shore, put into a place where he thought he might easily make a descent, landed a body of his men, and advanced in order to meet with the knights, and fight them; but the commander de Guimeran, being satisfied with his advantage, and finding himself far inferior in troops, after making his discharge, embarked his soldiers, and brought them back safe into the town, without losing so much as one man.

Sinan, having sought for them to no purpose, went together with his principal officers, to the highest part of mount Sceberras: from whence taking a view of the castle of St. Angelo, its situation on the point of a rock, and the bulwarks with which it was fortified, "Is this the castle (says he in a passion to Dragut), which thou toldst the grand seignior might so easily be taken? Surely, the eagle could never have chosen the point of a steeper rock for her airy." When an old corsair, brother to Airadin above mentioned, who had formerly been lord of Tachora, either from an aversion to Dragut, or through complaisance for his general,

cried out to Sinan, "Do you see that bulwark which runs out towards the sea, upon which the knights have planted the great standard of the order? You must know, Sir, that when I was a slave at Malta, I carried the great stones with which it was built, upon my shoulders; and before you can demolish that work, winter will come on; or, what is more to be feared, some strong succour will come to the besieged."

Dragut was all fire on this occasion; and, as he himself had never known what danger meant, he was prodigiously vexed to find so much coldness and diffidence in his general; and, in order to induce him to lay siege to the town immediately, he represented to him, that all the strength of the place lay in the castle of St. Angelo, and that if he could but once beat that castle down with his artillery, he would catch the grand master, and all the chiefs of the order, in a net at once, who, he said, had so imprudently shut themselves up in so weak a place. †

But Sinan was of a different opinion; for he knew very well, that, in order to take a place which was defended by the knights, it was not enough to demolish the fortifications, but that he must kill all those warriors to the last man, before he could be able to force his way into it; so that, to prevent his engaging unadvisedly in such an enterprise, he called a council of war. Of all Solyman's generals, there was not any one who was so timorous in appearance, when any affair was to be deliberated, as he was, though ever intrepid in action; but he never engaged in any, till such time as he had considered which were the surest methods

to beat the enemy, and that he had taken all possible precautions not to vanquish himself. So, after having laid before the council the orders he had from the grand seignior, he represented at the same time, that if he should engage in the siege of the town and the castle of St. Angelo, he was afraid that that enterprise would take up a great deal of time, and prevent his passing into Africa, where he was principally directed by his instructions to go; and moreover he believed that, in order to conform to the grand seignior's intentions, and to revenge themselves on those Christian corsairs, they had nothing more to do than only to ravage the island, and carry off as many of its inhabitants as they could into slavery.

The complaisance which subaltern officers generally have for the sentiments of their general, made those of Sinan be approved. But Dragut, a sworn enemy of the knights, and impatient to attack them, notwithstanding the result of the council of war, insisted strongly, that in case they did not think fit to attack the castle of St. Angelo and the town, they should at least lay siege to the capital, where most of the inhabitants of the island had, as he said, shut themselves up with their riches; and which, says he, we shall find without any manner of fortification, and without any other garrison but a company of miserable peasants, fellows that always tremble, even behind the strongest bastions. As the basha, at his taking leave of the grand seignior, had received orders not to undertake any thing considerable without Dragut's advice, he thought himself obliged, on this occasion, to give into his opinion: and therefore, in order not to draw upon himself any complaints or ill-offices from him at the Porte, he

ordered his troops and artillery to be put ashore. The whole army was now advancing up into the country, and arrived, without any obstacle, before the Notable City. The only difficulty they met with was from the cannon, which they were at infinite pains to bring thither, by reason of the great number of rocks, with which the whole island abounded: all their carriages were broke, insomuch that they were at last forced to have them drawn by slaves, who employed several days about it, before they were able to raise their batteries against the place, which is called Malta, from the general name of the island. It is pretended that it was founded by the Carthaginians, when the Romans after having destroyed Carthage, that haughty rival of Rome, drove the Africans afterwards out of the island; and that the Mahometan Arabs seized on it in their turn, and gave it the name of Medina, in memory of the city of the same name, situated in Arabia Petrea, which Mahomet had called Medina Labi, that is, the Prophet's City. The bailiff George Adorne, of an illustrious family in Genoa, was at that time governor of the city of Malta, in which above thirteen thousand persons of both sexes had taken refuge; so that there was abundance of people in it, though but few soldiers. The Turks, on their entering the island, spread themselves up and down in all its villages and hamlets, and destroyed all before them with fire and sword: they burned the houses and corn, which the inhabitants had not time to get in. The army was soon got before the place when they opened the trenches, and began to raise batteries: but all this did not pass without opposition from the governor, who made several sallies not so much from any hopes he had of ruining the

enemy's works, as to show them, by his intrepidity and resolution, that he was determined to make a courageous defence.

But he was in want of regular troops, and especially of a sufficient number of knights to command and lead on the peasants and inhabitants of the country, who had taken refuge in the place. The greatest part of these peasants, on the approach of the enemy, looking on themselves as the prey of the infidels, repented having shut themselves up in the town; and many of them, fancying they should be safer in any other place than where they were, got themselves let down with ropes into the ditch, and, flattered with the hopes of escaping the enemy, met either present death or slavery in their way. The governor, enraged to see himself deserted in this manner, exhorts, entreats, threatens such as were left behind, and, by his own example and resolution, prevails so far as to have some of them formed into companies, heading them with some knights, his friends, who had generously shut themselves up along with him: but as he saw plainly that he should want a greater number, and especially one who had been in sieges, and who was skilled in the art of attacking and defending places, he found means to send a soldier out of town in the night, to give the grand master an account of the state of the siege, and to desire him to send a recruit of knights, and particularly Villegagnon, whose valour and experience qualified him to share with him in the command and defence of the place.

The grand master, as well for his own safety as for that of the town, did not care to part with any of those who defended him, and thereby lessen their number; so that all the answer he gave the mes-



senger was, that among such a great number of townsmen and peasants as had retired into the town, it was impossible but that some of them must be capable of commanding over the rest; that the interest of their country, and the defence of their lives and liberties, were motives strong enough to make them all fight it out to the last; and that, on such occasions, experience and capacity in the commanders, officers and soldiers, was less wanting than vigour and courage. The messenger, vexed to see him sent back to his master without any succours, and that all he would be able to carry him back would be such a harsh answer, asked him, pursuant to his orders, to send at least the chevalier de Villegagnon. The grand master, who had, ever since his arrival at Malta, found him more sincere than he could have wished, was glad to get rid of him on so honourable a pretence; upon which he sent for him immediately, and told him, with a gracious and encouraging air, that he had ever entertained the highest opinion of his valour and capacity in the art of war; that the order, in this juncture, was requiring new proofs of it from him; that he was required to go and throw himself into the place which was now besieged; that the great number of townsmen and peasants which were in it, was indeed a sufficient security against all attacks of the Turks; but that those men, who would easily be made good soldiers, wanted a leader to supply the governor's stead in those places where he could not be present. Villegagnon, with a modesty that is inseparable from true valour, answered him, That on receiving the habit and cross of the order, he had, at the same time, dedicated his life to its service; that it was no longer at his own, but at the disposal of his superiors.

riors; and, that he was ready to go whenever he should order him. He added, he hoped he would not take it ill, if he represented to him, that there was no great reliance to be placed on the crowd of peasants which were shut up in the city, they being always averse to danger, and not to be wrought upon by any sense of shame for shrinking from it; that, in the present juncture, the governor wanted a set of intrepid men, who would fight from motives of religion and principles of honour; and that, to tell him his sentiments plainly, if he were desirous of saving the place, he must throw at least a hundred knights into it.

The grand master replied, that it had been resolved in council to reserve all the knights for the sole defence of the town and castle of St. Angelo; that, however, to prevent his going away alone, he would prevail with the council to let him take six other knights along with him; which, in a word, was all the succour they could spare him. Villagagnon begged him to consider what succour could, in an assault, be expected from only six knights, who, on the approach of the enemy, and the thunder of the artillery, would soon be abandoned by the peasants; that, to tell him the plain truth, these six knights would be only sent to be knocked on the head, and they would be overwhelmed in a moment by a multitude of enemies, without having it in their power, even by the loss of their lives, to acquire any honour, which is only to be gained by an obstinate defence. The grand master, tired with the solidity of his remonstrances, told him roughly, that he expected courage and obedience, and not arguments, in a knight; and that, if he was afraid of venturing, he would find many who would think

themselves highly honoured by such a commiss Villegagnon, touched in his most tender part, by answer which seemed to reflect upon his honour, cried out, "Sir, I'll give a proof that fear ne made me decline danger:" on which he set out same instant with six French knights, his friend, in order to make the greater expedition, to get there before day, not having saddles, they got upon mares that were feeding in the castle-ditch, came near to the town that was besieging, crept the dark up to the very wall, and, making the signals which had been agreed on, by the help of the seven knights, together with their guide, got into the place, without being perceived by the enemy.

At the report, which in the morning was spread all over the city, of the arrival of this little success, all the people, possessed with an extraordinary opinion of the conduct and bravery of the chevalier Villegagnon, discovered the greatest joy. The men, women, and children, never ceased to extol as indeed it really deserved, the noble resolution and his companions had taken of throwing themselves into the place. The inhabitants solemnized his entry with volleys of their small arms, insomuch that one would have thought that single person had supplied them with troops, arms, and provisions. The commander, to keep up their spirits, told them that he should be followed by a considerable body of knights, and that he was come before, only to consult with the governor, on the most proper means for the bringing that succour into the place. But when he was in private with the bailiff, he told him the whole truth of the affair, and what disposition the grand master was in; he frankly owned to him

that he was not to depend upon any other succour but what his own valour would bring him; that he was come to die with him; but that they must, by a brave resistance at least, make their fall renowned in the order, as well as fatal to the enemy.

The bailiff, considering that the walls of the town could not long resist the batteries of the Turks, made, by Villegagnon's advice, large and deep intrenchments within, which he fortified with planks, and epaulments or shouldering-pieces, well provided with artillery and musketeers. Villegagnon had the inspection of the work; the knights, who came with him, laid their hands to it; and all the people in general, as well women as men, animated by their example and their discourses, laboured at it with great eagerness. All thought themselves out of danger since they had Villegagnon among them.

The basha, at the noise of the volleys and the shouts which the inhabitants set up at his arrival, began to suspect that some succour had got into the place. The mares likewise, which the commander had left when he got into the town, and which the Turks found the next morning, left him no longer room to doubt of it. But such weak succours could never have put a stop to his continuing the siege, had not a letter that the Turks intercepted in a Sicilian bark, which they took as it was attempting to get into one of the ports of Malta, given Sinan the utmost uneasiness.

This letter was written by the receiver of the order, who resided at Messina, and was directed to the grand master, informing him, that he had sent that bark purposely to give him advice, that Andrew Doria, the emperor's admiral, and the terror of the infidels, was returned from Spain, and actually

arrived in the harbour of Messina; that he had dispatched expresses and brigantines with the utmost expedition to all the ports of that island, as well as to Naples and Genoa, with orders for all the galleys and ships that were in a condition to put to sea, together with the troops necessary to man them, instantly to repair to him; and, that he would set out immediately, in order to fight the enemy, and oblige them to raise the siege.

This advice was merely feigned, and a stratagem of the receiver, who employed this artifice with no other view than to alarm the basha: his design succeeded to his wish. Sinan was alarmed at the news; and, notwithstanding that all intelligence which comes from an enemy should justly be suspected, yet he thought, at the same time, that it was not to be neglected. He immediately called a council of war, and having caused the receiver's letter to be laid before them, he represented to them, that, in case Doria should attack his fleet at that juncture, he would not be able to continue the siege without leaving it unprovided of the troops which he had landed; nor could he yet send them back to defend the ships, without weakening the land army considerably, and exposing himself to be defeated by the garrison of the city, which, in concert with the body of knights who were in the town, might probably attack his lines at the same time; that in case, by the sudden arrival of the Christian fleet, he should be obliged to re-embark in a hurry, by a precipitate retreat, and especially in a country full of rocks, he would run the hazard of being forced to leave his cannon behind him. He added further, that he had, indeed, leave to attempt the siege of Malta, and that of the town and castle of St. Angelo in his

way; but that, preferably to all this, his express orders were, to besiege Tripoli; that he was afraid the month of September should come before he should have finished his enterprise of the city of Malta; that they were very sensible there was no keeping the sea along the coast of Africa at that season of the year; and, finally, that he would not, perhaps, be in a condition to lay siege to Tripoli, after having had the mortification of miscarrying in that of Malta.

The council, after having examined his reasons, and carefully weighed the different resolutions that might be taken, agreed that the general, without losing more time in the siege of Malta, ought to turn all his endeavours to that of Tripoli only; that he would infallibly carry a place which was so poorly fortified; or that, at least, by acting pursuant to his orders, he would prevent any reproaches from the grand seignior, a prince whose anger was ever formidable. The Turks, in consequence of this resolution, raised the siege, and re-embarked; but, as a thirst of plunder is the prevailing passion of those barbarians, the basha, before sailing for Tripoli, could not refuse his troops permission to ravage the isle of Goza, which belonged to the order.

This little island, called by the inhabitants Gaudisch, is situated four miles from Malta to the west, or rather west-north-west, being about twenty-four miles in circumference, and about three broad; it is almost surrounded with rocks and shelves. There were, at that time, about seven thousand inhabitants in it, and a castle, without fortifications, seated on a hill, which commanded a town that lay at the foot of it.

Though some commanders had been of opinion,

that it would be proper to demolish this little castle, and transport all the inhabitants of the island to Sicily, nevertheless the grand master, as has been already observed, differed from them; and, by his interest and authority, rather than by his arguments, had brought over the council to his opinion; but they were now sensible of their invalidity by woful experience, for the Turkish general having in vain summoned the governor to surrender, he battered it with his artillery. The inhabitants, dreading slavery under the infidels, offered the governor to defend the breach; but that knight, whose name was Galatian de Sessa, and whose courage the grand master boasted so much of, instead of improving this brave disposition, and putting himself at their head, hid himself in his apartment, despairing to hold out the place. This cowardly conduct, the like of which had never been known in the order, threw the inhabitants into a general consternation; there was only a brave English cannoneer in the place, who, levelling his cannon, killed several Turks, and hindered the rest from advancing up to the wall.

But the gallant Englishman being killed by a cannon-ball from the Turkish batteries, not a man would take his post. The governor, in order to procure a capitulation for his own security, continued in his usual indolence; but being as great a braggadocio as he was a coward, he sent to the basha to demand honourable conditions, which are never granted but to those only who make a brave defence. A monk went in his name to offer Sinan to surrender the place, provided that general would bind himself by treaty to preserve his life, his liberty and effects, and those of all the inhabitants,

But the Turkish general rejected the proposal with disdain, and told the envoy, that if the governor did not quit the place that very moment, he would hang him up at the gate. The monk returning to the castle with this dismal news, the governor sent him back again, to demand his liberty at least, as well as that of two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he himself should name; but the basha stinted the number to forty, and at the same time threatened the negociator to hang him up, if he ever presumed to return to him again: upon which, the governor, seized with a panic fear, commanded the gates to be opened to the enemy, which was the only order he had given ever since the Turks had entered the island. The infidels threw themselves immediately into the place, in order to plunder it. The governor's lodgings were the first place that fell a sacrifice to their rapaciousness; and after having carried all his goods and furniture out of it, they, to shew how much they despised a cowardly commander, obliged him to carry part of them upon his shoulders to their ships; after which they stripped his clothes off, and chained him down like a galley-slave. In vain did he plead the general's promise, and idly complain of their having broke the capitulation by treating him so ill. Sinan, to elude the sense of the treaty, and ridicule him at the same time, gave forty poor infirm old men, the most aged in all the island, their liberty; pretending, that as he had been engaged to give forty of the principal of the island their liberty, the oldest ought to be looked upon as the principal. By virtue of this forced interpretation, he kept the governor in slavery, besides six thousand three hundred persons of all ages and sexes, whom he put on board his fleet,



Among these poor inhabitants\* there happened to be a Sicilian, who had been settled for many years at Goza, who, preferring death to slavery, delivered himself, and all his family, by the instigation of a bloody compassion, from the hardships and shame that attend upon slavery, after a very tragical manner. This Sicilian, transported with rage and jealousy, stabbed his wife, and two young daughters whom he had had by her; and, resolving not to survive them, he takes up a fusée and a cross-bow, with which he killed two Turks; and afterwards throwing himself sword in hand into the midst of a crowd of enemies, he, after having wounded several of them, was cut to pieces, and met with the death he so eagerly sought after.

The inhabitants of Malta were greatly affected with the news which came of the unhappy fate of the people of Goza; they all unanimously expressed their abhorrence of the governor's cowardice; and several knights, the French in particular, from a national antipathy, demanded openly, that they should proceed against him: but, as the grand master was his protector, he eluded the proposal, under pretence, that as that knight was in the hands of the infidels, they could not judge him without first hearing him; and, in order to conceal from all Christendom the scandal that might be thrown upon the whole order for the governor's cowardice, he engaged most of the knights, who were either his own countrymen, or in his confidence, to write to their respective countries, declaring, that he had signalized himself by a noble defence; that so long as he was living, the people of Goza, in obedience to

\* See the first book of the relation de N. Nicolai, c. 15, edit. 1568.

his orders, and in imitation of his example, had always repulsed the attacks of the infidels with great valour; but that this brave governor having been killed with a cannon-ball, the people, by losing their leader, had lost their courage at the same time, and that the principal inhabitants, in order to save the lives and honour of their wives and children, had thought themselves obliged to capitulate, though Sinan, from a perfidiousness too often found in those barbarians, had afterwards openly violated the capitulation.

This fiction passed for a long time as an undoubted matter of fact all over Europe; and the truth of it was not known, till many years after that unhappy accident had happened. That knight having, by dint of money, found means to get out of slavery, had not only the impudence to appear again at Malta, but managed his intrigues so artfully, that he got himself acquitted by the council of the accusation which had been brought against him for cowardice: and that either because the lords who composed it thought he had been sufficiently punished by the hardships which he had endured during his slavery, or else because time had in a great measure worn off the indignation which they had conceived at his cowardly behaviour.

The basha, after having ravaged the island, demolished the castle, and left terrible marks of his fury in every place, returned again on board; but instead of sailing towards Provence, as the grand master had always endeavoured to persuade every body he would do, that general steered directly for Tripoli. The grand master was in no small confusion when he heard the news of it: and in order to repair the fault which his obstinacy, perhaps his

avarice, had made him commit, he applied himself to Gabriel d'Aramon, ambassador of Henry II. of France at the Porte, and who was well known to Sinan Basha. That minister had come ashore at Malta, in his way from Constantinople, about the latter end of the foregoing year, when he returned from thence into France; and the king his master sending him back to the Levant, he passed by Malta, when, in some intercourse which he had there, he assured the grand master, and the convent, of that prince's good will towards them. Sinan had left the isle of Goza some days before; and the French minister, in a conversation which he had with the grand master, expressed his concern for his not having arrived sooner at Malta, as his offices with the basha might not perhaps have been unserviceable to the order.\* "You are not come too late now, replied the grand master, and, provided the affairs you are commissioned with will but allow you to go to Tripoli, we shall be greatly happy if, by the deference which the ministers of the Porte pay to the king your master's recommendation, you can but prevail so far as to divert Sinan from laying siege to that place: and therefore, added d'Omedes, I beseech you, in the name of Christ Jesus, and in the name of the king your master, who glories in the title of the *most Christian king*, to use all your endeavours to effect it."†

What haste soever d'Aramon was in to continue his voyage, he yet thought there were some occasions in which a minister is allowed to guess at his master's intentions; and, knowing the great affec-

\* *Memoires du chevalier de Villegagnon, adressez a l'empereur Charles V.*

† *N. Nicholai, l. 1, c. 15.*

tion his king bore to the order, and not to lose a moment's time, he went on board a light brigantine which the grand master furnished him, sailed away for Tripoli, and ordered the galleys that had brought him to Malta to come and join him before the port of that place.

The basha had put in at Tachora, which is but four leagues from Tripoli, in order to get intelligence, where he had been received by the Aga Morat, who had made himself lord of that district: he was a Turkish officer, and had succeeded Airadin, of whom mention has been already made, in that little government. The arrival of the Ottoman fleet, as well as of Dragut, for which he had solicited at the Porte, gave him a sensible pleasure, which he discovered to Solyman's general by the magnificent reception he gave him; and particularly by a body of cavalry well accoutered, with which he presented him, in order for their serving at the siege of Tripoli. Sinan, after having reposed himself for some days, dispatched a Moor to that city on horseback, who carried a white flag like a herald. The Moor advancing to the side of the ditch of the place, planted a cane there, with a paper fastened at the end of it, without any direction who it was for, and cried, that he would return the next day for an answer.

Gaspard de Valier, of the language of Auvergne, and marshal of the order, commanded at that time in the place. He was an old knight, who had passed through the prime dignities and posts of the order, a man universally esteemed for his valour, and one who was even looked upon as a person highly deserving of the grand mastership, when that dignity should become vacant; but, for that very reason,

not over agreeable to the grand master; like most other princes, who do not always look on their successors with a favourable eye. They perhaps, have been the motive which had led him to send him out of the way, under the plausible pretence of giving him the command of Tripoli: not to mention that the marshal was odious to him, for the liberty which he had taken in differing from him in opinion in council, and in exposing his sentiments without any great reserve. The governor sent to fetch the paper which the Moor had set up, and, upon opening it, found it was a cartel; or defiance, containing these

“ Surrender yourselves to the mercy of the signior, who has ordered me to reduce you to his obedience: I will allow you the liberty of retiring wheresoever you shall think fit with your effects, but in case of your refusal, I will have recourse to the sword.

(Signed)

SINAN BASHA

The marshal, with the concurrence of the council, fixed another paper in the same place, in which, by way of answer, he writ the following words in his own hand:

“ The government of Tripoli has been entrusted to me by my order; I cannot surrender it to any one but to him whom the grand master, and the council of the order, shall nominate; and I will defend it against all others to the last drop of blood.

(Signed)

The marshal GASPARD DE VAL

The Moor returning the next day, took the paper and carried it to the Basha; who, by such a

answer, saw plainly, that there was no reducing of Tripoli but by force of arms; whereupon he advanced immediately in good order with his fleet, landed his troops and artillery, reconnoitred the place, and prepared to lay siege to it. All the garrison at that time in Tripoli consisted only in the recruit of two hundred men, from Calabria, a company of raw fellows that had never seen fire, and about two hundred Moors, the allies of the order, who, though of the Mahometan religion, did yet, out of aversion to the Turks, do good service to the Christians. Tripoli, as has been already observed, was scarce tenable, and especially against a strong army, provided with a large train of artillery; and the grand masters had several times intreated the emperor to take it back into his own hands, or else cause it to be fortified, and put in a condition of defence: but Charles V. in order to save that expence, had always answered that he had given the order fiefdom of Tripoli, Malta and Goza, by one and the same deed; and that the knights were equally obliged to defend those three places, or restore them all to him; and that he would not take Tripoli back, unless they would give him up the island of Malta and Goza at the same time. That prince, who was as self-interested as politic, had only given them this answer, because he was very sensible that the knights, having no place to retire to but Malta, would, in order to maintain themselves there, be obliged to stay at Tripoli; and this indeed had been the sole motive of their keeping so weak a place as Tripoli, which the narrow circumstances of the order had not allowed them to fortify. And indeed the basha going to reconnoitre the place himself, boasted to some officers who at-

tended him, as he was returning from thence, that it would cost him but one bold stroke, and he would carry it by scallado: but he judged otherwise of the castle, which appeared to be well-fortified with bulwarks, and he resolved to attack the place on that side.

They had not yet opened the trenches, when d'Aramon, the French ambassador above-mentioned, arrived on board the brigantine of the order, who, as he drew near the fleet, saluted the grand seignior's flag; and because he put out French colours, he was answered by all the artillery of the ships. He landed afterwards; when knowing that it is almost impossible to succeed in any negotiations with the ministers of the Porte without presents, he sent very magnificent ones to the basha, in order to obtain a favourable audience from him. No sooner was it granted, than he went to his quarters, and into his tent; when he represented to him, that the king his master had a particular regard and affection for the order of Malta, and that as that society was composed of the most illustrious nobility of Christendom, part of which were born his subjects, he would take it as a signal favour if he turned the grand seignior's arms another way; and that his master, who was the most generous prince living, would not fail to acknowledge his obligations to him upon that account, by presents suitable to the dignity and power of so great a king. The basha, who had contracted a kind of friendship with the ambassador during his residence at the Porte, opened his mind to him. He shewed him his orders, signed with the grand seignior's own hand, by which that prince had expressly enjoined him to drive the Christians out of Tripoli; and the basha

added, that he should lose his head if he did not observe his orders.

D'Aramon, seeing that it was not in the basha's power to grant his request, would have taken leave of him, intending to make all possible haste to Constantinople, in order to try whether he might be able to prevail so far with the grand seignior, as to make him send new orders to his general: but Sinan, who perceived his design, foreseeing that, by such a change of orders, he would be deprived of the glory which he flattered himself he should gain by this conquest, gave him to understand, that he could not let him depart till the siege was ended; and so, by a flagrant violation of the law of nations, he ordered all the rigging of the brigantine which had brought him, as well as the two galleys which were come to join him, to be taken out; but if we except this injustice, he treated him with all the respect which was due to his character.

In the mean time, the trenches were opened, the cannon was planted upon batteries; and, in order to hinder the knights from repairing what it beat down, the basha had distributed all his artillery into three several batteries, each of twelve different sizes, which fired one after another continually; so that, at the same time that they were again charging the battery which had just fired, they fired another, by which means this kind of thunder roared on without intermission. Happily for the besieged, these batteries were pointed against the bulwark of St. James, the place that was best fortified in all the castle, and terrassed within, so that the ball only made a hole, and sunk down in the terrass. The Turks had now employed several days to no purpose in this attack, when a deserter, born at Ca-



This villain had been settled a long time in Tripoli; his religion was, in some measure, a pledge of his fidelity; but, having been seduced by a criminal commerce with some Moorish women, he had secretly renounced the faith, embraced Mahometanism, and, being as false to the order as he had been to God, he stayed at Tripoli for no other reason than to serve as a spy for the Aga Morat, the lord of Tachora above mentioned. It was by his means that he got access to the basha, and that he shewed him, that if he was desirous of succeeding in his enterprise, he must turn his batteries against the bulwark of St. Brabe, the stones of which were, as he said, loosened by the mouldering away of the mortar, which time had consumed.

The renegado's advice being followed, the wall began to tumble a few days after; in vain did the marshal endeavour to supply the want of that defence by intrenchments, which he marked out behind the breach, and within the town; for the continual fire of the artillery, which played day and night without ceasing upon that very place, killed all the slaves whom they employed in that work. Such as were left obstinately refused to supply their places, and, though they beat them severely, they nevertheless would lie down, and suffer themselves to be bastinadoed unmercifully, rather than rise and go to a place where they expected immediate death.

This fright, which began with the slaves, infected the Calabrian soldiers, who were as great cowards. The greatest part of those peasants had been put in a little fort, situated at the entrance of the port, called

The Chatelet, which was commanded by a military serving brother, des Roches by name. This officer, who was very attentive to every thing that passed in his fort, observing the air and discourse of those soldiers, found it attended with a surlly and brutal pride, which made him suspect that some dangerous design was hatching. Upon his examining diligently into the matter, he found that these Calabrians, who had not been used to the noise of cannon, and were afraid of being buried under the ruins of the fort, had agreed to seize upon a brigantine which lay in the port, and to make their escape into Sicily. And in order to hinder the governor from either stopping or pursuing them, they had resolved, before they should go on board, to leave a match near the magazine of powder, in order to set fire to it after their departure, and thereby blow up the little castle. The officer considering that it would be as dangerous to let them know that he was informed of their plot, as it would be to neglect it, resolved to give private notice of it to the marshal; in consequence of which, he took care to draw them all out of the fort one after another, upon various pretences; and, to prevent all future caballing, they were dispersed in different places, and among other companies, who were thought to be more faithful. But this change did not produce any alteration in the ill designs of these cowards, and served only to enlarge the scene of the conspiracy; every one of these wretches infected the other soldiers with the poison of their rebellion; nor did the inhabitants, who were upon guard with them, escape the taint. It is said that this sedition was privately fomented by some Spanish knights, who were enemies to the governor. It was now a kind of general conspiracy; the Ca-

labrians abandoned their posts through joining together in a body, encompassed the commanding officer with their swords drawn, threatened to kill him, in case he did not order the marshal to secure them their lives and like a speedy capitulation.

The governor, who was sensible of the danger of a siege, prepared himself for them like a Christian, and a true religious, by receiving the sacraments; and was but just come from the altar of the holy eucharist, when the Calabrians advanced towards him with trouble and in his looks, and cried out, "Sir, all you are not in the Turkish camp, you have some of the town, who are still more dangerous; with infinite concern that I am come to that my soldiers, in contempt of their oath, have abandoned their post, and refuse to do a duty." He told him further, that they cried for a capitulation, in a threatening manner that he was afraid they should be forced to that article, in order to prevent a great fortune.

The marshal, dissembling his indignation, behaved very prudently that moment out of the church, was immediately surrounded by the mutineers, demanded of them, with a stern air, where the others were not at their several posts; but he easily discovered their rebellious disposition, by the respect they shewed him; for they interrupted him with insolent cries; so that, in order not to expose himself to such a rabble of furies, all that he thought fit to say was, that he was going to a council of war. He had no sooner given notice, but all the knights and officers came about

when without dissembling his trouble and resentment, he cried out, that he had lived a day too long, and that he was very unfortunate, since the enemy's cannon had spared him, only to make him a sorrowful witness of the rebellion and the perfidiousness of his soldiers; and thereupon he asked the knights their several opinions about the condition of the place. The Chevalier de Poissi, or de Poissien, of the language of France, declared that he had examined the breach with the greatest exactness; that it was not so large but that it might be supplied by good intrenchments, and that provided the soldiers would but return to their duty, and take heart, they were still strong enough to repulse the enemy.

But a Spanish knight, named Herrera, who acted as treasurer, directing his discourse to him, cried out, "I am not in the least surprised that you should declare for a longer resistance in so weak a place, as you are a Frenchman, and that your king has an ambassador at this time in the enemy's camp: you are very sensible, that though we should happen to be taken by storm, you nevertheless would have no reason to be in pain about your lives and liberties; but our fate will be very different, since, being subject to the emperor, the irreconcilable enemy of the infidels, we can expect no quarter from those Barbarians, if we do not prevent an assault, and consequently our ruin, by an immediate capitulation; and this is what I think necessary to be done, for the safety of my countrymen and my companions." Other officers proposed, before they should come to such a final resolution, the sending one of the oldest and most experienced knights to visit the breach, and afterwards make his report of

it to the council : whereupon the marshal dispatched the commander Copier to the mutineers, at the same time to acquaint them with this resolution, and to exhort them to return to their respective posts, till such time as the council should have decided the affair,

Copier, in order to prevail with them, offered, in the marshal's name, to double their pay; he assured them, that they were going to visit the breach, and upon the report which should thereupon be made to the council, they would take proper measures for their safety: but he represented to them, at the same time, that, by deserting their posts, they exposed themselves, before they should have any time to treat, to the danger of being surprised and forced by the Turks; and that the only way to obtain an advantageous capitulation would be, to appear all of them in their several posts, with an air of intrepidity and resolution, and as if they were fully determined to give the infidels a warm reception.

The commander's reasons, which were seasonably intermixed with tender intreaties and generous reproaches, made some impression on the mutineers: but Herrera insinuating to them, that all these promises were designed only to amuse them, and that the marshal, who was an obstinate man, would rather be killed on the breach than enter into a negotiation, they renewed their clamour, and rejected all the commander's proposals. The marshal's resolute courage, and their own cowardice, by an odd kind of fatality, contributed to confirm them in their rebellion: for it is probable, that they would have been wrought upon more easily, had they thought their governor less capable of taking a desperate resolution. They all protested, that they

would keep together in a body till such time as the breach had been visited, and that they would not trust to any one's report thereupon but that of a Spaniard; so that, in order to satisfy them, they were forced to send thither Guernana, an old soldier of their cabal. This soldier, after having visited the breach, reported, that it was easy to be forced, and hard to be defended; that in case the Turks, as no doubt they would, should continue their battery, all that was left standing of the wall on that side would be beaten down before night; that there was no possibility of making the intrenchments which the chevalier de Ponsi had proposed, and that they would be of no other use than to throw away the lives of a great number of good men. Upon his report, which was calculated for the prejudices of the mutineers, they fell into a new rage, and threatened aloud, that if they did not immediately put up the white flag, they themselves would make a capitulation, and let the infidels into the place.

The marshal finding he had neither soldiers nor authority, referred the decision of this affair to the council. Though almost all the officers detested the infamous desertion of their soldiers, yet, after having made the most serious reflections on the weakness of the place, the open revolt of the garrison, and the failure of succours from Malta, they agreed that there was no remedy left but to submit to necessity; upon which a military serving brother was ordered to put up the fatal signal of capitulation. Sinan, at the sight of the flag, ordered the battery to cease, when two Turkish officers came out of the trenches, advanced up to the wall, and signified that the governor might send deputies to treat. The rebels, who were more masters in the place than the

governor himself, declared that they would not suffer any French knight to be entrusted with the negotiation, but took upon themselves to negotiate for that purpose the commander Fuster of Majorca, the two secret fomenters of the rebellion.

These deputies being arrived at the Turkish camp, were admitted to an audience of the basha. He told them, that they were ready to surrender up the city and the castle of Tripoli to him, on condition that he would give the governor, knights, and garrison, and all the inhabitants, assurance of their lives and liberties; that he would allow them to carry off their effects, and furnish them with provisions to transport them to Malta or Sicily. Since the basha did not seem averse to the proposal; but, as he had reproached them with their rashness in calling it, in pretending to hold out such a price for the place against a royal army, he declared, that he would not hearken to any treaty, unless the governor, who were in Tripoli, would engage to reimburse the grand seignior for all the charges he had been at in that expedition. The deputies representing that it was not in their power to make any such engagement, he dismissed them roughly, threatening at the same time, that he would put them to the sword. But as they were going out of the camp, they happened to meet Dragut, who told them he was told the result of the negotiation, was surprised that the basha had broke it off. The governor, pretending to be concerned at the basha's behaviour, and rigorous towards the besieged, desired them to defer their departure till such time as he had had a moment's talk with the general; upon which he went immediately into his tent, and represented to him, that, by prolonging the siege, he would

the hazard of miscarrying in his enterprise; that succours might possibly come to the besieged; that the very despair of obtaining a reasonable capitulation, would serve the knights instead of a new succour, and make them more intrepid; and moreover, that whatever stress he might lay on his artillery, all he would gain by ruining what was still left of the walls and fortifications, would be to leave so many gates open, by the breaches he should thereby make, for the troops of the order to enter at, before he could have leasure to repair them, especially in a season when there was no keeping the sea; adding withal, that he, as a politician, ought not to boggle at signing the capitulation, because that when he should be master of the place, he would have it in his power to give such explications to the treaty as best suited his interest.

The basha readily approved the perfidious advice of the corsair; upon which he sent for the deputies, and told them, that, at Dragut's request, he had granted what he had refused on any other consideration. The treaty was then agreed to, and the basha swore by the grand seignior's head, an oath that is looked upon as inviolable among the Turks, to observe it. When the deputies were going to take leave of him, in order to carry the capitulation to the governor, he told them that it would be proper for him to come and confer with him, in order to adjust the number of transport vessels that he should want, and the security he was to give for sending them back: for which purpose he would send one of the principal officers of his army into the city, in quality of an hostage.

Scarce were the deputies got back into the city, when the officer came to the gate, who was imme-



diately let in; the marshal had called a war, in order to consider of a message, at the capitulation read. It was there debated it might be consistent with the duty of a to go out of his fortress alone, and without the head of his garrison; but the mutiny or rison made all deliberation useless; and secretly fomented the rebellion, and were the governor's recovering his authority, so that as the treaty was signed, the marshal occasion to make any difficulty about it with the basha; so far from that, that it would be imprudent to let him see that they entertained the least doubt of his not keeping his word, the rather, because, as it would be impossible the garrison and inhabitants to return to Sicily, without his furnishing with vessels, they were therefore forced to rely upon his honour; and they unanimously that in order to show him how much they valued his word, the marshal should carry his back with him: and indeed the rebels were very ready to make an experiment, by the treaty the marshal should meet with from the basha, they themselves might expect from him.

A garrison's disposing in this manner of the word of its governor was not to be justified by the laws of war; but the reader may have observed that ever since the time of the soldiers' rebellion, which the Spanish knights had secretly excited, all regard to the marshal's authority, and notion of the duty of obedience, was from that moment extinguished; and the mutineers had never heard that the basha demanded a conference with the governor, but they forced him with-

cries to go out of the town, lest the capitulation should be broke off: he went therefore to the camp, attended only by the chevalier de Montfort his friend, who was resolved never to leave him, and the Turkish officer, who had been sent as an hostage. When they drew near the general's quarters, the officer, under pretence of giving Sinan notice of the governor's arrival, went before, and told him in a few words, that he had found the soldiers and inhabitants in a terrible consternation, that he fancied he had discovered something like a division among them, and moreover, that he assured him he might prescribe such terms as he should think proper to the governor.

The basha so far availed himself of this advice, that, at the marshal's coming in, he assumed an air of haughtiness and pride, an air which such barbarians generally put on, when fortune has declared herself on their side; and immediately asked him, if he had brought the money he had demanded for reimbursing the charges of the war. The marshal without discovering the least emotion, answered him coldly, that he depended upon the capitulation, on his word, and the solemn oaths he had taken to maintain it inviolably. "It is not with such dogs as you," (replied the basha in a rage), "that a man is to keep his word; you and your perfidious companions, who owed your lives at the siege of Rhodes purely to the grand seignior's clemency, who would never have indulged you in them as he did, contrary to the advice of his council, had it not been in consideration of your grand master's engagement, viz. that the order should never for the future attack his subjects, or exercise piracy in his seas, but respect his flag in all places; notwithstanding which, in breach of that

treaty, and of all the obligations of gratitude, you were no sooner settled at Malta, but you fell again to your old trade of pirating." The marshal, who could not bear so unjust a reproach, replied, that the original of the capitulation, signed by Solymán's own hand, was still preserved at Malta; that there is no such article in it, and that he was ready to send for it from Malta, in order to justify what he advanced. He told him, moreover, that if he repented of the treaty which he had made with the deputies of Tripoli, he might tear it if he pleased; after which, says he, let the fate of war decide to whom the place shall belong. The basha, provoked at this resolute answer, ordered him to be disarmed, to be put in irons, and sent on board his vessel. The marshal still resolute and undaunted, turning himself to the chevalier de Montfort, cried out, "If you, brother, are allowed to go back into the city, tell my lieutenant, and the commander Copier, from me, that they consider me no longer but as a dead man; and as to the rest, that they behave themselves as their duty and honour may require of them on this occasion." After the marshal was gone out of the basha's tent, he dismissed Montfort, and allowed him to return back to Tripoli, upon condition he should tell the knights who were left there, that if they did not immediately send him the money he demanded, he would have it out of their persons, and those of the garrison and inhabitants, who should be all sold for slaves. Montfort had no sooner told this dismal news in the place, but it raised a general indignation among the knights, who all swore they would fight to the last drop of blood, to revenge the injury which had been done to their commander. All talk of capitulation was now at an end; they

embraced one another, and agreed to defend themselves to the last extremity, to die all by each other's sides, and bury themselves in the ruins of the place. After this, they endeavoured to inspire the same sentiments into the garrison; but they had not to do with soldiers, much less with men; those wretches, insensible to every thing they could represent to them to excite their resentment, answered only like so many women, by their tears, or by a gloomy silence. In a word, neither remonstrances, intreaties, reproaches, blows, nor any thing they could do, could prevail upon them to take arms again. The council, considering that in so universal a desertion, it would not be worth while to persist any longer in a fruitless defence for preserving the liberty of such rebels, resolved to abandon them to their wretched fate, and leave them as a prey to the basha, to compound for the liberty of the rest; upon which they sent Montfort back to the general, to tell him, that it was impossible for the knights to furnish the sum that he demanded, there being no money in the city; but that they would surrender, provided he would only give leave to three hundred persons, whom the council should nominate, to march out at full liberty. The council, before Montfort went to make this new proposal, upon advice that the basha would give no quarter to the Moors, who, though Mahometans, had yet served the order with great courage and fidelity, had given them such rewards as their circumstances would at that time allow, and advised them to retire to Tunis or Goletta; and, in order to secure their retreat, and prevent their falling into the hands of the Turks, they gave them all the horses that were in the town, and they sallied at St. George's gate.

Among these Moors were several, who, having been a long time in the service of the knights, could not be prevailed upon to leave them in this extremity, but protested they would follow their fortune: the rest agreed to the proposal which was made them, but some of them had the misfortune to be surprised and taken in their retreat, before Montfort was come back to the camp. They were brought to the basha, when they informed him, that the knights were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, and that when they should not be able to hold out any longer, they would blow up all the fortifications, and involve their merciless enemies in the same destruction with themselves.

The basha, startled at a resolution which would disappoint him of the booty he hoped to gain by this conquest, and leave him only a heap of ashes, was glad to see Montfort return; he received him in an amicable manner, and, after hearing what he had to say, gave him room to hope, that he would at least indulge two hundred of the besieged in their liberty. He then sent for the marshal, in order to conclude the affair with him; but before he was brought into his tent they had obliged Montfort to go out, when the governor being brought into his presence, he cried out to him, "Has the night inspired you with better resolutions, and are you now disposed to pay me the sum which I so justly demand of you?"—"The authority I had in Tripoli," replied the marshal, "ended with the liberty you bereaved me of; you must now apply yourself to others, and supposing that my brethren might still have some deference left for my sentiments, I shall never consent to treat on any other conditions than those which you yourself agreed to. For the rest, here's

my head, dispose of it as you have already done of my liberty."

After this the basha took Dragut and the aga Morat aside, and whispering together for some time, they, in all probability, fearing they should find the same intrepidity in the knights as they had done in the marshal, he drew near to him, when giving him his hand in token of peace, he said, "Let us talk no more of new conditions: I ratify the first, and agree, that all the Christians who shall be found in Tripoli shall have their liberty; you yourself are allowed to go and assure your companions of it, and bring them out with the garrison of the place."

But the marshal, mistrusting this change of behaviour, and fearing lest some new treachery might be lurking under this facility which they had shown in ratifying the first conditions, excused himself from carrying his promise of it, on pretence that his having been made a prisoner had put an end to his employment and authority; and, upon his refusal, the basha sent the Turkish officer, who had been before in the place in the quality of a hostage: the mutineers received him with as great eagerness as uneasiness; when immediately crowding about him, without carrying him to the council, they pressed him to declare the subject of his commission. The officer told them, that his general had sent him to acquaint them, that, pursuant to the treaty, he would grant an entire liberty to all such as should leave the place immediately; that he would furnish them with ships to transport them to Malta; and that all he required of the soldiers was, to leave their colours and arms in the town. The deserters set up great shouts, the moment they heard this declaration; and as those cowardly wretches had

some days before thrown away their arms as a useless burden, they did not stay for the orders of the council, or the return of the chevalier de Montfort, but fearing the least delay would make the basha change his resolution, and finding the gates of the town shut, they crowded out at the breaches; and the women and children following their example, hurried out at the same gaps. The knights, finding themselves universally abandoned, were forced to take the same course; they all rallied under the walls, and, as they were going towards the camp, Morat Aga surrounded them with a body of his Moorish cavalry, and stripping them without distinction of rank or condition, put them in irons, and treated them like slaves.

Of all the Maltese, Des Roches, the serving brother, who commanded in the little castle, was the only man that would have the carving his own fate; and who owed his liberty to his courage and resolution. The basha wanted only to possess himself of that little fort, which being as it were the key of the port, commanded it at the same time: the general's agent tempted Des Roches with glaring promises, and endeavoured at the same time to intimidate him with threats of death or perpetual slavery. But the serving brother, though he had no more than thirty men with him, was equally proof against them all; so that the Turk was obliged to raise a battery against the tower, which was soon beaten down. Des Roches, unable to hold it out any longer, taking the advantage of a dark night, got with his little company into a bark, and put to sea; others say, that he retired secretly on board the French ambassador's galleys, which served him for an asylum.

That minister could not behold the loss of Tripoli,

and the ungenerous treatment the knights met with from the barbarians, without the utmost concern. At the first news he had of it, he ran to the place where they had been seized, when he found them lying on the ground in chains, half naked, and exposed to the insults of the insolent soldiery. He accosted them in terms suitable to their courage and virtue, and assured them that he would go and employ all his endeavours for the recovery of their liberty. Upon this he went immediately to the basha's tent, and represented to him in the strongest terms, that, by such a shameful piece of injustice, he was going to dishonour himself in the face of the whole universe; and that the king his master, and the other sovereigns of Christendom, having some share in the unworthy treatment which he showed those knights, who were most of them born their subjects, would not fail either to have redress from Solyman, or, in case he should refuse it, would use reprisals upon all such Turkish officers as should fall into their hands. The basha gave him a haughty answer, and said, that he was accountable to no one but his master; and that he was well assured, that that prince would not resent his having broke his word with a company of corsairs, who, from a scandalous thirst of gain, had so ungratefully violated the promise they had given at the taking of Rhodes, never to disturb any more the commerce of his subjects by their piracies; that the governor of Tripoli had in vain endeavoured to clear them from so well grounded a reproach, under pretence that there was no mention made of any such promise in the capitulation; "As if," says he to d'Aramon, "a hundred thousand men, who were present at that siege, were not witnesses sufficient; and that the grand seig-



nior's condescending to stoop so low as of their breach of promise on several occasions not infinitely beyond all proofs in writing.

The politic ambassador would not dissuade him: but, having recourse to insinuating treaties and presents he prevailed insensibly as to have the marshal and the most ancient knights set at liberty; and the basha, though he pretended to observe punctually the treaty, or rather the promise which he had made to Montfort, consented that two hundred of those who had been arrested, should likewise be set at liberty. But here he came in with a new condition, as he had done at Goza, out of the poorest of the inhabitants. All the slaves kept in slavery, together with some young knights, and all those of Spain and Italy who were the emperor's subjects.

This exception made the ambassador very angry: it was with grief he saw that those among his countrymen, were going to be exposed to various dangers, which were so much more dangerous, as they were seasoned with pleasures. But, in order to rescue them from slavery, he ransomed them with his own money; those knights, who were the emperor's subjects, notwithstanding that that prince was at war with his master, he yet engaged the basha thirty Turks, all born of good families, were actually slaves at Malta, in exchange to carry them himself to Constantinople. He was so far, he set sail for Malta, not suspecting at least but that the grand master would receive him there as the deliverer of his brethren, and that in that island on the evening of the 23d of

This minister, when he went on board his galleys, had dispatched a bark with a letter to the grand master, in which he gave him an account of all the circumstances relating to the taking of Tripoli. D'Omedes was greatly surprised at this news; but what gave him more uneasiness than grief was, the apprehensions he was under, lest they should impute to him the loss of so important a place. He was sensible, that a complaint had been made in the convent a long time before, of his having employed the money, which ought to have been laid out in fortifying that city, in enriching his nephews; that the loss of Tripoli might probably revive these complaints, which would occasion a strict examination into his conduct, and perhaps end in his being deposed. In order, therefore, to extricate himself, he resolved to lay things in such a manner, as to make the French ambassador's conduct be suspected, and throw the loss of Tripoli on that minister and the marshal; in pursuance of which, he sent for some knights, his creatures, and taking them into his closet, showed them the letter he had just received from d'Aramon. He at first broke out only in expressions of grief for the loss of so considerable a place; when, as if he were unwilling to throw the blame on any body but himself, he owned to them, with an affected confusion, that he could never forgive himself the imprudent step he had taken, in having engaged d'Aramon to go into Africa, and for having confided in a foreign minister, whose master, he could not but be sensible, was in strict alliance with the grand seignior; that this ambassador, a cunning and insidious person, and who was, moreover, the marshal's countryman, had insinuated himself into his confidence, by pretending to interest

ness of the town, and the forces of the basha, and have led him insensibly, by his artifices, into a labyrinth of negotiations, which had at last ended in a scandalous capitulation.

The grand master's creatures, like so many servile courtiers, without examining whether there might not be some falsities in a relation, which depended merely on conjecture, declared openly their detestation of the ambassador's pretended treachery. Each of them made a merit of supporting these conjectures by new prejudices altogether as groundless. Some said, that that minister would never have deferred the execution of his master's orders, nor have been prevailed upon to interrupt his voyage to the Porte so easily as he did, had he not thought he could have been more useful to him at Tripoli than at Constantinople; others added, that the great want the king of France had of the fleet and forces of the basha, to oppose them against those of Charles V., made his ambassador urge on the capitulation of the place, to the prejudice of the order, the sooner to hasten their voyage to Provence; that the marshal was inexcusable for concluding it without having first imparted it to the grand master and the council, in consequence of which it was agreed that he ought to be prosecuted for it immediately, but in order to get rid of so troublesome a witness as the ambassador would prove, they resolved to delay the process till after his departure. In the mean time, to render him suspected, and to make it appear they mistrusted him, the grand master, at his coming off the harbour, under pretence of its being an unreasonable hour, would not suffer the chain to be taken

away, but ordered the castle guard to be doubled, and took the same precautions as in time of war, and as if the enemy was returned to the island, and lay before the gates of the place.

The next day the grand master's confidants, in concert with him, had it whispered abroad, though without naming any person, that Tripoli would not have so soon fallen into the power of the Turks, had it not been for the ambassador's secret intelligence with the basha, and the marshal's weakness, in having suffered himself to be guided by d'Amaral's perfidious advice. This news was told with all the air of a great secret that was not to be confided but to intimate friends, which, by being still communicated with the strictest charge of secrecy, became at last the subject of public conversation. These reports, improving by the various conjectures which every body added, as fancy might suggest, soon reached, as the grand master had intended they should, all the knights, and passed from them to the people. By this artifice, d'Aramon, unknown to himself, became in a moment the object of public execration.

But the grand master did not stop here; for, in order to make him no less odious over all Christendom than at Malta, he engaged those of his cabal to write word underhand to the knights who resided in Europe on their several commanderies, signifying that the French ambassador had betrayed the order, and delivered up Tripoli to the infidels; and, that had it not been for the wise precautions which the grand master had taken, he would have attempted to seize on the castle of St. Angelo, and put into the hands of the Turks. These reports were soon spread over all Christendom, and made a

great impression on the minds of the people: and last, those which they had published at Malta with so much virulence, came to d'Aramon's ears, would be impossible to express the surprise he was in, when he heard them; he demanded an audience immediately, which was granted him in full council, when, seating himself by the grand master, and thinking it would be derogatory to his character, to stoop so low as to refute all these false reports, he only desired him to call to mind, that he had been gone into Africa, but for the repeated instances which he had employed, in order to engage him in it, wherein, to make him fully resolve upon it, he had mentioned the advantage that would there accrue to the Christian religion, and the great regard and affection the king his master had for the order. He added, that after his arrival in the Turkish camp, he had done all that lay in his power, both to engage the basha to raise the siege, and to deliver the knights out of slavery; that in the latter case God had blessed his endeavours, so that he brought them back safe in his galleys; and, that as he had engaged himself to carry back as many Turks, who were slaves to the order, in exchange, he hoped the grand master would order them to be delivered to him, that he might perform his promise with honour.

The grand master, assuming a very cold air, answered him in a few words, that they were very much obliged to him for his care; but as to the Turkish slaves he demanded, he said he could not do any thing in it; that it was the business of the knights who had taken them to dispose of them as they should judge proper, or in case of their refusal

to part with them, it was the marshal's business to make the basha amends. D'Aramon might have very justly replied, that there was a yet shorter, and indeed a juster way left, which was to deliver him back the Spanish knights, in order for his surrendering them back to Sinan: but he thought it would be beneath his character to expose the grand master's injustice; so, without condescending to complain of it, he went out of the port in a few days, and kept on his way to Constantinople.

His departure left the grand master at liberty to proceed with the execution of his project; for which purpose he held several secret councils with his creatures about that affair; the result of which was a resolution to ruin the marshal. They agreed, that in order to answer the grand master's ends, it was now time to bring him upon the stage in d'Aramon's stead: but as they could not attack him singly, for a resolution which had been taken in a full council of war, the grand master, and those who joined with him in carrying on this black design, thought it proper to comprehend the knights who had the greatest hand in the capitulation, and involve them in the same accusation. His emissaries, dispersing themselves among the knights, took care to suggest to them, that the suffering such a scene of cowardice and prevarication to pass uncensured, would be a great scandal to the order: and he himself represented to the council, though with all the outward shew of grief, that the honour of the order absolutely obliged them to call the marshal and the other knights to account for the motives which had determined them to capitulate: "In order," said d'Omedes, with a pretended moderation, "that they may be acquitted if they should be found in-

The council finding this proposal very reasonable, voted for an immediate examination of the affair, and the bringing of the accused to a trial; and resolved that three knights, of three different languages, should be appointed to take informations about it. The grand master had no difficulty to make the choice fall upon his own creatures; but as these commissaries were religious, and could not in that quality take cognisance of a capital crime, where the lives of the accused lay at stake, it was resolved to put a secular person at the head of the commission, who, after the examination, and the report of the commissioners, was to pronounce sentence, with respect to the nature of the punishment which the fault of the criminal might deserve. The artful grand master, without seeming to be any further concerned in it than justice required he should be, appointed Augustin de Combe, a secular officer of the island, whose fortune he had made, for that employment; he was a corrupt judge, a man capable of doing any thing for money. He likewise got another secular, a Spaniard by birth, to be chosen solicitor of the commission, who had no merit but that of being blindly devoted to his interest: d'Omedes, by the choice of these judges, had it in his power to make this affair take what turn he should think proper.

Upon a petition presented by the solicitor, ex officio, the first step they took was to arrest the marshal, and the knights Fuster, de Sousa, and Errera, who had the greatest hand in the capitulation, though after a very different manner. As the loss of the place concerned the emperor, by virtue of

his being lord paramount; and that Tripoli served in some measure to cover his dominions in Italy, the knights, who were born his subjects, in order to make their court to him, were not ashamed to seize their general themselves, because he was a Frenchman; and to throw him into a horrible dungeon, where he had not the least light to comfort him. The grand master, deeming his destruction inevitable, and imagining he was no longer obliged to keep any measures, thought proper, in order to deprive him of all succour, to forbid, under severe penalties, any knights offering to solicit in his favour; and that because the enormity of the crime, and the interest of the state was concerned in it. By another order he enjoined the commissaries to reject all the reasons he might give for excepting against the witnesses; and that they, without having any regard either to the condition or the reputation of the deponents, should admit, without distinction, the testimony of all such persons as should offer themselves, and that they should not oblige them to be confronted with the accused: so that, on the whole, they could scarce possibly have taken surer measures for the speedy dispatch of an innocent person.

This new system of law was the occasion that, among the witnesses which the solicitor admitted, there appeared some who were villains convict, as well as fellows who had been guilty of the blackest crimes; such was Dominic Cabillan, a Spaniard, whose testimony was allowed, notwithstanding his having been judicially convicted and condemned of forgery; such was Venegas, another Spaniard, who, after having renounced our Saviour, and embraced the Mahometan religion, plunging still deeper in iniquity, had sold his own children to the infidels:



this villain they had brought from Africa, purposely that he might make his deposition against the marshal. Such, in a word, was one of the gunners in Tripoli, who had been seized in the very act of going over to the infidels, and would infallibly have been executed but for the marshal's clemency. All good men were infinitely concerned to see that they were resolved to destroy that nobleman at any rate; but the cabal was so strong, and they had made his cause so very odious, that no one durst open his mouth in his favour.

The chevalier de Villegagnon was the only person who, in spite of the grand master's orders to the contrary, was generous enough to undertake his defence, wherein he acquitted himself with invincible courage. He declared publicly, that it was very extraordinary, since Tripoli had been lost only by the negligence, and perhaps the avarice of those whose business it was to fortify it, and throw succours into the place, that they should nevertheless pretend to make the marshal responsible for another man's fault. Upon these complaints, which were thought very reasonable, that nobleman's friends, and most of the French knights, began to open their eyes, and to reproach themselves for having been made the tools of the passion and hatred of d'Omedes. The grand master, to prevent any effect of their testimony, and the accounts they might send into the several nations of Christendom, had recourse a second time to the venal pen of his confidants, all of whom he obliged to write unto their respective countries as follows, that the grand master, being desirous of having the marshal tried for selling Tripoli to the infidels, the greatest part of the French knights, from an apprehension that

of infamy upon the language, had taken up arms, and were actually besieging the grand master in the castle of St. Angelo.

This news, though utterly false, raised a terrible indignation against the French knights in foreign countries, where they were never mentioned but as so many rebels; so that one would have thought that the single quality of being a Frenchman was a crime which they could not expiate but by death.

D'Omedes having got the start of them by these letters, and prejudiced the world against the French, did his utmost to bring this great affair to a speedy conclusion; and before such time as the truth could be cleared up, the solicitor, *ex officio*, in concert with him, brought up a set of new witnesses: Ville-gagnon, discovering immediately that they were suborned, complained of it to the commissioners, brought them convincing proofs of the subornation, and represented to them, that supposing the grand master had forbid the marshal, under pretence that it was a state crime, to except against them in any manner, that it yet was their business to admit at least of the testimony of none but such as they knew to be men of probity: but those knights, being wholly devoted to the grand master, answered him coldly, that that inquiry related only to the solicitor of the cause; that as for themselves, their business was only to take their depositions in the very terms they made them, and that they were equally disposed to hear such as he should produce, either for or against the charge; adding, that they would allow him a week's time for that purpose, though they had granted the solicitor in ordinary two months to bring his witnesses together. Above

threescore persons, all men of known integrity, appeared in that small space of time, and deposed in the marshal's favour, and, by their testimony, entirely invalidated the depositions which the false witnesses had made. At last the commissioners made their report, and the secular judge pronounced sentence in full council, which was to this effect; that, in the loss of Tripoli, it did not appear that the marshal and the other knights had been guilty of any treachery or intelligence with the enemy; that the misfortune was entirely owing to the cowardice of the Calabrians; that there were indeed no imperial constitutions or laws which inflicted any punishment in such a case upon a governor and his officers, but that, by the statutes of the order, degradation was the penalty incurred by every governor who should abandon a place with which he had been entrusted, without express leave from the grand master and the council; in consequence whereof he concluded, by one and the same sentence, that the habit of the order and the cross should be taken away from the marshal, and from the knights Sousa, Errera, and Fuster, as accomplices in the loss of Tripoli.

The grand master discovered, by an air of discontent, that he was not pleased with this sentence: the sole reason of his having comprehended the Spanish knights in the accusation was in order to prevent any suspicion of his having proceeded against the marshal merely from national hatred; and he was moreover in hopes, that after he had got him condemned, he should be able to find out occasions and pretences to get his countrymen acquitted. The sentence of the judge disconcerted all his measures; but, in order to remedy it if possible, he represented

to the council, with a pretended moderation, and an affected modesty, that, in his opinion, the judge, in order to put an end to so important an affair, had been somewhat too hasty in pronouncing sentence against these different persons; that he apprehended, as there was a great difference between the fault of each criminal; different penalties ought to be inflicted on them; that, for the present, the judgment which had been pronounced against the marshal ought to stand good, but that that of the officers ought to be superseded, in order to judge each of them separately, according to the different nature of the crimes whereof they stood convicted.

The judge perceiving that he had disoblighed the grand master by this general sentence which he had pronounced against all the impeached, changed his mind without any sense of modesty or shame, notwithstanding his having given judgment but the moment before; and, in order to pacify the grand master, made a new decision, exempting the Spanish officers from the general sentence in which they had been included, and declared by way of explanation, that although he had condemned them all to the same penalty, their faults were notwithstanding of a very different nature; when the bailiff Schilling, of the language of Germany, directing his discourse to the judge, said, with indignation, "Are not you the most profligate fellow living, to change your sentiments in a moment, at the least sign of the grand master's discontent? You just now gave a definitive sentence, that as the impeached had been equally guilty of the same fault, they ought all to undergo the same punishment; and a moment afterwards you pretend to separate the faults, and defer the sentence against them." "He has spoke like a

wretch as he is," said the chevalier Nuguez, of the language of Castile; and turning to the grand master, "I will never suffer," says he to him, "the sentence which has been pronounced against the marshal to be executed, unless the same penalty be at the same time inflicted upon the rest."

All the assembly declaring themselves to be of the same opinion, the grand master pretended to come into it; but as he was vexed that his prey had in some measure escaped him, and that he could not destroy the marshal only, as he had proposed to do, he desired to be heard a moment; he then represented to them, that, although they had ordered that all the criminals should be punished at the same time, it yet would be but justice to make some difference between their crimes and the punishment which they deserved; that the marshal and the chevalier Fuster seemed to him more guilty than the rest; the one for having negotiated the capitulation, and the other for having abandoned the place of which he was governor; and whereas two such great crimes might perhaps deserve to be punished with death, he was of opinion, that it would be proper for the council to give themselves no further trouble about it, but refer the definitive sentence to the secular judge, who had already taken cognisance of the affair. This corrupt judge having varied in so scandalous a manner but a moment before; made them reject him with clamour, notwithstanding which the grand master insisted positively on his being nominated; but the judge, finding that the warmer part of the council loaded him with invectives, would not proceed any further, under pretence, that as he had pronounced sentence already, he could not give judgment twice in the

same affair. The grand master, enraged at his not being able to carry his point, put off the affair till another time, ordered the secretary of the council to register all that had passed, and broke up the assembly.

In the meantime, such as were enemies to the French king and his kingdom, had no sooner heard of the letters which the grand master had caused to be sent into their territories, but they reported that the French ambassador had delivered up Tripoli to the infidels, and had returned to Malta, in order to let them into that island; and that if it had not been for the grand master's vigilance, all the knights would have been cut to pieces, and Christendom thereby have lost a place which served as a bulwark to Sicily and all Italy. The king, highly resenting these reports, so derogatory to his glory, and the honour of the nation, dispatched a gentleman in ordinary of his household to the grand master. This gentleman's name was du Belloy, who delivered him a letter from his majesty, dated the last day of December, wherein that prince, after complaining grievously of the infamous reports which had been spread against his ambassador, desired to be informed plainly and truly, whether d'Aramon was really guilty of the crimes which were laid to his charge, "in order that if he should be convicted he might punish him as the greatness of his crime deserved; or, if he was innocent, he might be justified by his testimony among foreign nations, where he had been so barbarously defamed."

This gentleman's arrival, and the letter he brought with him, gave the grand master the utmost uneasiness; the spreading of whispers covertly, the sending of anonymous letters, or subscribing them with

the names of inconsiderable persons, was a game that was not to be played with so great a monarch as Henry II., in an affair which concerned his honour; he was now forced to speak out plainly, and advance nothing but what he was able to maintain before the face of all Christendom.

D'Omedes, in order not to expose himself to any dispute, and to extricate himself out of the difficulty he was under, laid the king's letter before the council, where it was read; after which he asked the lords then present what were their sentiments about the answer that should be made to it. All the assembly were unanimous in their resolution of returning this answer to the king, that the order, far from having any reason to complain of his ambassador's conduct, had nothing but thanks to return his majesty for all the good offices they had received from him, which engaged the whole order more than ever to an eternity of acknowledgments. The council ordered their secretary, at the same time, to draw up this letter, or rather get it signed by the grand master, and deliver it to the king's envoy, or else to the chevalier de Villegagnon, who was to return with him.

- D'Omedes, who still persisted in his secret design of destroying both the ambassador and the marshal, soon repented of his having referred to the council the answering of a letter which had been directed to himself only; in order therefore to elude the proofs which might be drawn from it in favour of the persons accused, he sent for the secretary, and without giving him to know what use he designed to make of the letter, he only told him, that as it was directed to a great king, and related to an affair of so delicate a nature, the terms of it could

he intended to confer with him about it at leisure ; and that in case the French gentleman, or de Villegagnon, should ask for it, he should find out some excuse to decline giving it to them ; and then recommending secrecy to him, he dismissed him.

Villegagnon having let some days pass over, and finding that the secretary, during that time, had not taken care to execute the orders of the council, he asked him the reason of it. The secretary, pursuant to the grand master's orders, excused himself on the specious reason of a multitude of business ; and, in order to amuse him, promised to bring him the letter as soon as possible ; but weeks passed away without their being able to get it out of his hands. These pretended delays made Villegagnon suspect, that some ill design was again upon the anvil ; and, in order to trace it to the bottom, he exerted himself to the utmost, and, moreover, set all those knights to work, who, like himself, had interested themselves in the marshal's defence. At last he discovered, as he himself relates, that the grand master had had some secret conferences with the judge who had tried the impeached ; that he had reproached him with his weakness in having desisted from his commission upon the complaints which had been raised against him in the council ; that the grand master had said further, that he was still strong enough, in spite of the opposite cabal, to get a revision of that very prosecution referred to him ; but that he would never forgive him, if he should vary a second time in his sentence ; and that, to oblige him to keep his word, he endeavoured to force him to sign a bond to pay him five hundred ducats of gold, in case he did not act in the whole



prosecution exactly as he should prescribe.

The persons, from whom Villegagnon received advice, told him further, that the judge, from the fear he was under of losing his post, and the grand master's favour, had promised him every thing he had required of him; that the grand master, after having got this security, had delivered him a memorial, containing certain conditions and articles, which he was to interrogate the persons upon, ordering him, at the same time, in case he either denied them, or should refuse to answer, to put him to the torture, in order to bring him, by the violence of the torments, to confess. He had delivered up Tripoli to the Turks, in obedience to d'Aramon's solicitation. They likewise told him, that the grand master had owned to them, that the hopes of extorting this confession from him, in order to send it to the king, had been the principal reason of his having so long deferred giving an answer to that prince's envoy, and that it was the only way he had left to extricate himself from honour out of an affair in which both his dignity and glory were endangered, and which could be recovered only by the destruction of the persons implicated.

Villegagnon does not name the person from whom he owed the discovery of the plot; either because he had been engaged to secrecy, or else, because it came from the judge himself, who would well be afraid to take on himself, without the sanction of the council first obtained, to put one of the officers of the order to the rack; and was not sorry, that the rumour of this plot might prevent its execution, and at the same time that the considerable sum he had so imprudently expended himself to pay to the grand master. Be-

will, Villegagnon having a full account of this horrible design, went to the council, and demanded, in the name of the king's envoy, that they would deliver him the letter which he was to carry to that prince; representing, that if they should defer his departure but never so little, the season would be so far advanced, that there would be no venturing out to sea: "However," added Villegagnon, "in case the council should have changed their sentiments, it may perhaps be sufficient, in order to convince the king of his ambassador's innocence, to send him the result of the examinations of the commissioners, together with a copy of the sentence pronounced by the secular judge; by which instruments alone that monarch will plainly see, that the capitulation of Tripoli was not in the least owing to any treachery or intelligence of d'Aramon and the marshal with the infidels, but that the loss of it was wholly owing to the cowardice and rebellion of the Calabrian soldiers."

A knight of the priory of Aquitaine, who was a great partisan of d'Omedes, replied, that all the king desired was, to be informed of his ambassador's conduct in Africa, and that therefore they were only to answer to that point. The grand master was overjoyed to meet with a man who opposed the proposal of Villegagnon, whom he judged to be too able a man to require a copy of the proceedings against the impeached, but with the view of carrying the king the most irrefragable proofs of d'Aramon's innocence. And, finding that that French knight was always thwarting him, he sternly asked him, where he had learned that the order was obliged to give secular princes an account of their criminal proceedings against their knights. "I

never intended, (replied Villegagnon), to advance such a proposition; all that I designed was, that lieu of the letter which the council ordered, a which has not been yet drawn up, the king might think it sufficient for his minister's justification, have the testimony of the very judge of the impeached, who declares, in the sentence, that the minister had not been guilty of any unlawful practice, or criminal intelligence with respect to the capitulation. However, since you order me, (continued the knight, addressing himself to the grand master), to give you an account of my particular reasons for desiring that copies of those proceedings might be sent to France, I will give it you with the openness and sincerity which I profess, and, at the same time, with all the deference and respect I owe to you, and to the august assembly before which I speak."

Then raising his voice, and putting on a noble and resolute air, "there hath been, for some days past, Sir, (continued he, still addressing himself to the grand master), a report spread abroad, which reflects highly on your honour, which is, that in a private conference that passed between you and Combe, you agreed to carry on a new prosecution against the marshal; that that unjust judge has engaged to put him to the rack, and to force him, by the violence of the torture, to confess crimes he was never guilty of; upon which he is to condemn him to death, and that after his execution, his confession is to be given instead of the letter which the council has ordered to be written to the king. This, we are told, is the only reason of that pretended delay which the secretary makes in giving the letter to that prince's envoy."

The grand master fell into a passion at this discourse; and darting fire from his eyes, and all inflamed with rage, he commanded him to declare publicly from whom he had had such scandalous reports. "The name of the author is not at present the business, (replied Villegagnon with great modesty;) the only question at this time is, to know from yourself whether the fact be true or false." "Utterly false," cried the grand master. "Declare, Sir, before the whole assembly, (replied Villegagnon), that you acquit your judge of the sum of five hundred ducats of gold, which he stands bound to pay you, in case he does not pass sentence of death upon the marshal." At these terrible words the grand master immediately changed colour, and appeared in the utmost confusion; his head was quite turned, so that he was not master of himself; when, being enraged to see himself attacked so warmly by one of his inferiors, he fell upon him with a torrent of abusive language. But Villegagnon, thinking it sufficient to have acquainted the council with his ill designs, withdrew from the assembly; the members whereof, being justly incensed at all these villainous conspiracies, appointed another judge, and ordered the secretary, under very severe penalties, to lay aside all affairs, and deliver that very day to the king's envoy, or to Villegagnon, the letter which had been written to that prince, in the form, and in the very words in which he had been directed to draw it up.

However positive these orders might be, the secretary, who was one of the grand master's creatures, durst not execute them without first consulting with him; he therefore went privately to his palace, wrote the letter before him, gave a new turn to it, and,

instead of taking notice in it, as the council had ordered him to do, that d'Aramon, far from having contributed to the loss of Tripoli, had, on the contrary, done all that lay in his power to keep the basha from laying siege to it; he, I say, instead of these terms, so very express in favour of d'Aramon's innocence, inserted a clause which related only to the time of the writing of that letter; and moreover made the grand master say, that the council had not as yet discovered any thing wherewith they could charge d'Aramon. D'Omedes by this clause, and under pretence that new impeachments might arise, reserved to himself a power of reviving, on some other occasion, the impeachment that had been brought against d'Aramon.

The letter drawn up in this manner, and dated the 17th of November, was delivered to Villegagnon, who soon saw through the artifice: upon which he carried it immediately to the council to complain about it; and the lords of which it was composed, ashamed of such a series of frauds, took upon themselves to draw it up, which the grand master, after what had passed, durst not refuse to set his hand to.

That lord, after thanking the king for all the marks of kindness with which he had been pleased to honour him, added these very words, as M. de Thou, a famous historian, who was alive at that time, relates: "As to what your majesty desires of me, I, in order to satisfy your will and command, declare, that d'Aramon arriving here on the first day of August, with two galleys and a brigantine, and having been received according to his quality, showed us the order you had given him at his setting out for Constantinople, to visit us in his passage, and to assure us of your disposition to serve us;

and endeavour to dissuade the basha from laying siege to Tripoli, if he had not already invested it; or that in case he should find it actually besieged, to make use of your majesty's glorious name, and his own credit, to engage him to raise the siege; that d'Aramon cheerfully embraced this occasion of doing service to the order, but that the Turkish general having been deaf to all his intreaties, he returned hither, without being able to prevail in any one article; that he declared publicly before the council of our order how highly he was concerned for the loss of Tripoli; assuring us withal, that he had omitted nothing in his power that might contribute to the giving us the satisfaction we desired of him, as having your majesty's express commands to that purpose. Moreover we, in order that the whole world may be acquainted with the true source of this misfortune, have caused informations to be taken on all sides; and, after the strictest inquiry that could possibly be made in this affair, we have not discovered any thing that could any way induce us to believe that d'Aramon ever contributed in the least, or used any solicitations whatsoever for the surrender of the place: so far from that, our knights, who had been made prisoners at that time, informed us on their return, that he was not only clear of all manner of blame, but had moreover obliged our order by an infinite number of good offices: the report therefore, which has been rumoured up and down to the contrary, is very unjust, and against all manner of reason, &c."

"This letter, a copy whereof is in my custody, (says M. de Thou, at the end of his seventh book,) was afterwards sent by the king to all his ambas-

of the several princes where they resided. By this means they put a stop to the ill reports which the Imperialists had spread abroad, so very prejudicial to the honour and reputation of the French. The whole nation owed this signal piece of service to Villegagnon's zeal and address; and as this knight was no less master of his pen than he was of his sword, he published an excellent memorial at Malta, which he dispersed over all Europe, and which is still preserved; by which it is manifest, that the grand master, from a principle of avarice, and an invincible obstinacy, had diverted the succours which might possibly have saved Tripoli another way.

As for my own part, however, without pretending to speak in a decisive manner in so nice an affair, I cannot think but that the treachery of the renegade of Provence, who discovered the weakest places in Tripoli to the Turks; the rebellion of the soldiers; the great fear the two Spanish knights were in, and their intelligence with the mutineers; and, in a word, the governor's too easy credulity, and the grand master's positiveness against putting any succours into the place, were the cause of their hasty capitulation, as well as the reason why the besieged, before taking such a step, did not, like their predecessors, hold out till such time as they should be reduced to a greater extremity. The marshal paid sufficiently afterwards for his imprudence in going out of his fortress, by the long imprisonment he suffered; but the grand master, who, as we have already observed, caused the other impeached knights to be arrested, for no other reason but because he could not separate their cause from

his, got them pardoned as soon as possible: and, as in all kinds of government whatever, that man who has the disposal of the preferments and dignities, is generally master at the same time of the votes, d'Omèdes had interest enough to engage most of the great crosses, who composed the council, to consent to their being set at liberty.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.















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